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ABSTRACT

This book, consisting of a series of discussion papers and case studies, is a compilation of the papers presented at a region 1 workshop on participatory research in Africa. Included in the volume are the following discussion papers: "The Concept of Development in the Social Sciences," by Kemal Mustafa and Deborah Bryceson; "The Politics of Research Methodology in the Social Sciences," by Marjorie Mbilinyi, Ulla Vuorela, Yusuf Kassam, and Yohana Masisi; "The Methodology of the Participatory Research Approach," by Deborah Bryceson, Linzi Manicom, and Yusuf Kassam; and "Participatory Research: Redefining the Relationship Between Theory and Practice," by Deborah Bryceson and Kemal Mustafa. Several case studies are also presented, including: "Participatory Research as an Instrument for Training: The Youth Development Project in the Coast Region of Tanzania," by Marja-Liisa Swantz; "Rural Vocational Education in Tanzania: An Exploratory Research," by R. Mshana and T. Bita; "The Use of Popular Theatre for Adult Education in Botswana and its Relation to the Concept of Participatory Research," by Ziki Kraai, Bob MacKenzie, and Frank Youngman; "Demystifying Research: A Case Study of the Chiwanda Nutrition Education Project," by Y. K. C. Masisi; "Appropriate Technology for Grain Storage at Bwakira Chini Village," by E. K. Mduma; "The Jipemoyo Project," by Kemal Mustafa; and "On Literacy Content," by Ngugi wa Mirii. (MN)

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Participatory Research:
An Emerging Alternative Methodology in Social Science Research

Participatory Research Network Series No. 2

edited by

YUSUF KASSAM
KEMAL MUSTAFA

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Yusuf Kassam
October 1982. Kemal Mustafa

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Introduction

Yusuf Kassam

This book is a compilation of all the papers presented at the African Regional Workshop on Participatory Research which was held at Mzumbe in Tanzania between July 1 to 7, 1979. The Workshop marks a significant step in the development of the African Participatory Research Project (*PRP*) which was initiated in 1978 under the auspices of the African Adult Education Association. The African PRP is a regional project under the network of the International Council for Adult Education. The PRP is also being carried out in Asia, Europe, Latin America and North America.

The workshop was officially opened by the Honourable Minister for National Education of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ndugu Nicholas Kuhanga. The workshop was attended by 31 participants from Botswana, Britian, Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, India, Kenya, Nigeria, Sudan and Tanzania.

The African Regional Workshop materialised after establishing a network of interested individuals and institutions in Africa, a task which was carried out over a period of about 18 months. The main objectives of the Workshop were to analyse, refine and systematise the emerging concept and methodology of participatory research. The Workshop was not designed to reach a consensus or to make any recommendations. Rather, its main aim was to generate disscussion and analysis in order to clarify and conceptualise more concretely the major ideas and theories underlying a number of research endeavours in the social sciences which had attempted to use a participatory approach as a point of departure from the conventional research methodologies.

All the papers of the workshop were first discussed in plenary sessions followed by group discussions. The summary of the discussions are not included in this book.[1] However, it is worthwhile here to encapsulate the dynamics of the workshop. As was expected, the workshop generated a lively debate and even controversy on the subject of participatory research. At times some of the participants took up uncompromising theoretical standpoints in their conceptualisation of participatory research. The controversy revolved around three major contentions.

The first controversy centred on the interpretation of the term *lead papers* and the way in which they were written. Some participants argued that the 4 lead papers that were written as a package were designed to "lead" the participants into accepting the theoretical position/s posited by the authors of the lead papers. Since in actual fact this was not the objective of the lead papers nor of the workshop as a whole, and, in any case, since the authors of the lead papers had differing theoretical standpoints,[2] the argument was finally reduced to a purely semantic issue and hence it was agreed to rename the *lead papers* to read *discussion papers*.

Secondly, some participants felt that the discussion papers were programmed to take a dominating position in the workshop, and that they were too theoretical and abstract. It was felt that the case studies should have had a predominance over the discussion papers so that theories and methodologies could be drawn more concretely from the case studies.

Thirdly, there was a clear-cut polarization among the participants on the question of the *methodology* of participatory research—that is, between those embracing the participatory research approach (*PRA*) and those advocating a historical materialist methodology for participatory research. Since this constitutes the core of the discussion generated by the entire workshop, it is necessary to give a brief synthesis of the lively discussion that took place.

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[1] The summary of the plenary and group discussions appear in the earlier *Report* of the Workshop (edited by Yusuf Kassam, Kemal Mustafa and Yohana Masisi), 1979.

[2] The lead papers were written by the Workshop Preparatory Committee consisting of 6 members of the PRP network residing in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Although each of the papers were written by the authors cited, they were extensively discussed by the entire Workshop Preparatory Committee.

It was argued that the participatory research approach devoid of a formulated methodology and a theoretical framework embraces a wide range of research practices as well as different versions of political activism. Consequently, participatory research's basic approach in some instances has been labelled as *pragmatic*, *ad-hoc*, *eclectic* and *idealist*. To elaborate on these criticisms, it was argued that the reason why the participatory research approach accomodates a very broad political spectrum is because the approach is subjective and idealist and which depends upon the individual researcher's political views, sensitivity and knowledge. The participatory research approach, in recognising that the people being studied are oppressed or have unrealised capabilities and potential, implies an idealist position which posits the humanness of the researcher as the basis for his/her identity with the oppressed. In so doing, oppression is morally romanticized. The *PRA* researchers are not able to recognise the contradictions between their stated intentions and the real implications.

It was also argued that in participatory research approach, no attempt has been made to theorise or even question the class interests that the researcher objectively serves and the probable false consciousness or ignorance of the oppressed who are probably socialised to accept ruling class ideologies or who are concerned with their own petty property interests. The participatory research approach ignores material causation, that is, the development of forces of production and production relations. In solving problems through progressive social action, the *PRA* largely operates at a micro-level instead of a macro-level which looks at the wider context of the economy and the objective social forces which influence remedial social action.

The participatory research approach has also been criticised as being pragmatic. Pragmatism posits knowledge as eventual rather than antecedent. Knowledge is produced through practical problems. Knowledge is viewed as a means to an end. The relationship between theory and practice is produced by experimental practice. Knowledge begins and ends with practice. Theory is disregarded.

It has been argued that since *PRA* is pragmatic and eclectic, its philosophical and theoretical nature is obscured and mystified. As a result, there is no guarantee that *PRA* will always bring about progressive social change. PRA could also be used for reactionary purposes.

In response to the criticisms on pragmatic participatory research, it was argued that the apparent eclecticism and pragmatism of the PRA are in fact its very strengths in that the researcher is able to work within a wide variety of constraints (such as the politics of local and external funding agencies, institutional membership, bureaucratic authorities and ruling ideologies) and also within a wide range of socio-political settings. The different versions of *PRA* as they surface through a wide spectrum of political activism are inevitable so long as care is taken to ensure that research was not used by the oppressors against the oppressed. Pragmatism is unavoidable since there are no ideal conditions anywhere. Therefore, to adhere to a single explicit methodology in PRA is to greatly delimit its potential for even a modest social change among the many different groups of the oppressed, disadvantaged and exploited people. It was further argued that the pragmatic nature of the PRA should be conceived as an important *phase* in an on-going *struggle* to liberate the oppressed. What is really *inherently* wrong with being ad hoc and pragmatic?

The critics of pragmatic participatory research in proposing historical materialism as the most appropriate methodology for participatory research argued that this methodology is most logically consistent with the intentions of the PRA, namely, progressive social change for the betterment of the people. Participatory research situated within historical materialist methodology has been defined as research structured by the democratic interaction of the researcher and the oppressed classes of people and takes the form of a dialectical unification of theory and practice reciprocally between the researcher and the oppressed classes. So conceived, it was argued that participatory research practice is an aspect of historical materialist practice which involves ideological, political and economic action undertaken in furtherance of the class struggle. This methodology is applicable to all social conditions and national contexts. The problems of the oppressed classes can best be understood and the subsequent solution of their problems can be achieved by analysing social formations using the fundamental concepts of mode of production, forces of production and relations of production.

The critics of the historical materialist participatory research recognised that historical materialism is an elaborate and scientific methodology for the analysis of society at the macro-level. However, they argued that it is overly theoretical and abstract and consequently renders participatory research a mere theoretical and abstract exercise devoid of concrete action towards the solution of the daily living problems of the oppressed classes. In other words, it diverts the attention of researchers from immediate problems to macro-abstractions. In this respect pragmatic participatory researchers are more concerned with dealing with situations and problems at the micro-level, such as a community, a village, etc., rather than the society at large. It was further argued that historical materialist methodology is too rigid and dogmatic and therefore runs contrary to one of the basic elements of flexibility in participatory research as it was first conceived.

If historical materialist methodology is an action undertaken in furtherance of class struggle, then advocates of the pragmatic participatory research argued that their approach also fulfils the same role using its own approach. However, historical materialists while admitting that pragmatic participatory research bears resemblance to historical materialist participatory research, argued that what renders them distinct is their differing philosophical foundations. Some practitioners of the pragmatic participatory research in fact have incorporated materialist elements into their work but the historical materialist view this trend as an *eclectic* assimilation from the holistic materialists philosophy. On another level, the advocates of pragmatic participatory research argued that the historical materialists have failed to give due credit to the development of qualitative aspects of pragmatic participatory research.

The foregoing synthesis represents the major arguments of the two main schools of thought on the question of methodology in participatory research. In both the camps there is a consensus on three main scores: the dissatisfaction with the conventional research methodologies in the social sciences; the recognition of participatory research as being a significant departure from the conventional or bourgeois social research methodologies along political, epistemological and methodological dimensions; and the intention of participatory research of bringing about progressive social change for the betterment of the poor and the oppressed. The major disagreement is centred on the question of an appropriate methodology that can be employed in achieving the goals and purposes of participatory research.

The analysis, conceptualisation and refinement of participatory research is still continuing.

A word on the case studies. It should be noted that the case studies as they appear in this book do not necessarily represent *typical* examples of participatory research projects. Rather, these case studies should be considered as an attempt or experiment in carrying out research using the concept and methodology of participatory research. Furthermore, it will be noted that each of the case studies has not used any one single *standard* approach or methodology. Rather, all the case studies represent different versions of participatory research.

Yusuf Kassam,
Coordinator,
African Participatory Research Project
Dar es Salaam,
April 1980.

Opening Address

Hon. Nicholas Kuhanga
The Minister of National Education,
United Republic of Tanzania

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

First of all let me extend to all participants who have travelled many miles to come to Tanzania in order to participate in this workshop, our warmest welcome. Tanzania feels greatly honoured to be asked to organize and host this workshop. I hope my colleagues have made all possible arrangements to facilitate the success of the workshop and to make your stay comfortable.

Mr. Chairman, the importance of adult education as an instrument of change cannot be over-emphasized. It has received recognition the world over, both in developed countries as well as developing ones. In developed countries adult education is used to make the adults, farmers and workers alike, keep abreast with change which takes place every day in the world, technological and non-technological. Thus adult education is used in the retraining of workers so that they can adapt themselves to new technology, disseminating information to the people about new political decisions taken by governments and new techniques and knowledge in agriculture, and so on.

In developing countries we use adult education in an effort to solve basic problems of illiteracy, agriculture, health, and technology as well as in bringing about awareness among the people of political, economic and social problems with the prime objective of involving them fully in solving these problems. That is why in Tanzania we place a great emphasis on the need to make adult education a popular movement so as to facilitate full participation of the adult population in implementing national development programmes. For we believe that you cannot develop a man, but you can help him develop himself. Hence the importance of making him aware of his potentials and his role in bringing about the development he desires.

Yet, in order that adult education can become a true facilitator and instrument of change, the needs of the people, both felt and unfelt, and the conditions of their environments have to be known. This is where the crucial question of research comes in. The objectives, methodology, and the expected results must all answer the question: how will it benefit the people? I am glad to learn that this is the major topic to be scrutinized at this workshop. I hope that you will come up with some consensus on the question: Given the conditions prevailing in a developing country like Tanzania, which approach to research in adult education will be most beneficial to the people?

In Tanzania at least, we believe, and experience has shown, that response to the implementation of programmes is greater when the people have been involved at all stages of planning, identification of the problem, finding possible solutions and finally drawing up programmes aimed at solving the problem. Hence the conception of most of our development programmes and their implementation are bottom-up instead of the usual top-bottom concept which is familiar to most of us present here. Thus, people's participation is the cornerstone in Tanzania's development programmes.

You are bound to have a tug of war during your discussions as to whether Participatory Research should be preferred much more than the conventional social science research. In the end what comes out of these discussions may very much depend on how much you have been influenced by the approach you believe in. Perhaps the crucial point to remember is that the people you as adult educators, are trying to help are not interested in academic exercises such as discussing preferences of approaches to research, important as it is. Their concern centres on how they can solve their problems so that they can improve their lives.

I believe, as adult educators, we all accept the idea that the people we are committed to serve must be fully involved in what we do for them. We want them to participate in planning and decision-making, for they are the ones who should decide on their future. As adult educators in developing countries we should, therefore, avoid copying research methodologies from developed countries without considering the purpose for which we need them. Rather we should critically re-examine social research methodologies which we have borrowed and have been using without questioning their usefulness.

Why shouldn't we, when even in the developed countries themselves some social science researchers are adopting the participatory research approach as an alternative in response to the dramatic shifts that have occurred in thinking about development and education; when the "top-down" concepts of education and development are increasingly being proved to be ineffective in bringing about rapid and qualitative development in rural areas where the vast majority of the people live, in the Third World! We cannot continue to engage in research activities as mere academic exercises. The money our poor countries are investing in research, whether it be from local resources or grants from outside donors, must produce tangible results and benefit the people involved in the activities directly. The act of publishing the outcome of research as learned articles in international journals, or as conference papers or dissertations in order to show one's academic excellence should be of secondary objective, even if this is also important.

Our research activities have to be problem-oriented and pragmatic. They should focus on real problems rather than imaginary ones, and should aim at finding short term and long term solutions. But if we want to score some success in this then we have to avoid the temptation of assuming that the people we are trying to help are incapable of creating knowledge as well as analysing it, because this is the monopoly of "social science researchers" alone. Such an assumption makes researchers run the risk of turning people into mere "objects" of research or sources of information, and does not consider them as active subjects in the process. What we should aim at is to extend the people's active participation in planning and decision-making to research activities, so that, consequently, through dialogue and discussion, and not through questionnaires and interviews alone, research process becomes also an educational process for the people, raising their critical awareness and at the same time mobilizing human resources to solve problems.

As I have said earlier, you have a difficult task before you of discussing the merits and demerits of social science research methodologies, namely conventional research methodology and the participatory research methodology. I am not an expert in this field, nor is it my duty to make a choice for you as to which one you should adopt, because to do so would be the same as putting the cart before the horse. Still I am tempted to suggest two things here: First, that you should approach the subject with objectivity; and two, that you should devote more time to the discussion on and analysis of the Participatory Research methodology in order to see whether or not this could be the most appropriate for us in the developing world. What I believe is that we need to adopt, though not whole-sale, a research methodology which is based on a fairly sound foundation for progressive change. The participatory research methodology seems to offer this possibility. However, whichever methodology and approach you finally agree upon, you should make it practical and problem-oriented. Mere theoretical approach will not help us to move forward fast.

Finally, I wish the Workshop every success. I hope you will come up with something useful.

Thank you.

PART I

Discussion Papers and Responses

Discussion Paper 1

The Concept of Development in the Social Science

Kemal Mustafa and Deborah Bryceson

The purpose of this paper is to reflect on the kind of *'development'* we will be talking about in relation to the Participatory Research Approach. Because the paper is basically concerned with development in the Third World, the concept of 'underdevelopment' will be critically explored.

The paper will be divided into four main sections. The first section will outline the concept of *development* argued by exponents of orthodox bourgeois economic theory (*OBET*). The second section will outline the theoretical position of the *underdevelopment* school of theorists, otherwise known as the radical structuralists (*RS*). The third section will outline the way in which historical materialists (*HM*) theorize *development* and the final section will consider the different conceptions of socialist development generated by the above three schools of thought.

Section 1. : 'Development' According to Orthodox Bourgeois Economic Theory (*OBET*).

The main premises of OBET can be summarized as follows :

1. The universal economic problem is asserted to be scarcity. Thus the allocation of scarce means to unlimited ends (supply and demand) is considered to be the basis of all economic activity.
2. The private property relations of capitalist society are universalized.
3. The analysis tends to be ahistorical such that non-capitalist

societies are not distinguished from capitalist societies.

In *OBET*, the main focus of analysis at the micro-level are the *factors of production*, namely land, labour and capital. The factors of production are asserted to be socially equivalent to each other. Thus the owners of land and capital are said to be rewarded according to what they *contribute* to the value of production in the same way as those who contribute their labour.

At the macro-level, analysis is exclusively quantitative. The theory of growth posits the ratio between savings and investment as determinant. Similarly, the theory of development posits the ratio between capital accumulation and population growth as determinant.

The notion of the *dual economy* is used to account for Third World socio-economic poverty. The dual economy consists of a high income sector which is the developing, capitalist or *modern* sector, and a low income sector which is undeveloped and which is referred to as the *traditional* sector. The problem of development is formulated in terms of how to transform the traditional sector into a modern one. Since the measure of development is capital accumulation, the content of development is rarely stipulated. At most OBET has a tendency to cite models of Third World development all of which are characterized by technology-dependent, capital-intensive, import-substituting light processing industries.

Following from this, *OBET* argues that in order to bring about *development*, injections of capital are required. International aid programmes become crucial in this regard and development budgets of almost all Third World countries throughout the world are financed to a greater or lesser extent by foreign aid. Because the underpinning philosophy of OBET is social harmony and the moralistic injunction to all countries to work together in their common interest, it follows that foreign aid is rarely subjected to rigorous analysis.

Instead, foreign aid is assumed to be unquestionably beneficial at a time when ample evidence has been provided to the contrary (*Hayter 1971*; *Payer 1974*). Spiralling debt burdens for Third World countries increasingly constitute net capital outflows at the end of the economic cycle instead of capital inputs as proclaimed by the exponents of OBET. In this way we can see how the premises of OBET restrict the scope of analysis and create a *selective reality*. The continuing and often deepening proverty of Third World countries, which have been given repeated capital transfusions, is testimony to the fact that the question of development is much more complex than OBET has been willing to admit.

OBET emerged in the late nineteenth century in the form of neo-classicism and has since then dominated all bourgeois centres of learning to the extent that the majority of universities today still regard it as the only form of economics to have serious content or scientific status. Accordingly, it has become a powerful tool of the dominant ideology and is used to mystify the realities of imperialist exploitation, a fact which it cannot even begin to analyse. This is because OBET does not concern itself with history which, in terms of its own definition of its subject matter, it considers to be a non-economic factor. In this way it disregards the nature of Third World economies as products of historical processes with specific social, economic and political dimensions.

The research methodologies generated by OBET are predominantly empiricist and positivist at both macro-and micro-levels with much energy being expended on detailed quantitative studies, employing survey techniques and statistical projections with increasing sophistication. Despite this OBET is unable to explain 'underdevelopment' because it is constructed in such a way that it rules out the possibility of even considering capitalism to be the cause of *underdevelopment* and thus, from a bourgeois point of view, serves purely ideological ends while confidently asserting capitalism to be the source of development.

Section 2: 'Development' according to the Radical Structuralism of the 'Underdevelopment' School of Theorists.

The main premises of RS are as follows:

1. The Third World is an object of analysis in its own right.
2. The *development of underdevelopment* is the process being undergone in the Third World.
3. The continuation of the process of *underdevelopment* is the

result of the *dependency* of the Third World countries upon the advanced capitalist countries.

RS rejects the linear evolutionism of the *modernization* model of OBET by arguing that the Third World countries have been actively *underdeveloped* through a process of integration into the World capitalist system as *dependent satellites* (*or peripheries*) to the advanced capitalist countries (*'metropoles' or 'centres'*). In this scheme the Third World countries function to export primary commodities and to import finished commodities. The fact that the terms of trade are continually moving against the *underdeveloped* countries means that these countries are increasingly being forced to export more primary commodities in order to be able to maintain a constant level of imports from the advanced capitalist countries.

According to RS, the most crippling outcome of this *dependency* is the inability to set up an industrial base in the Third World countries because of the monopoly of technology held by the giant transnational corporations. These transnational corporations provide *package deals* based on capital-intensive plants and management contracts which prevent any effective transfer of technology. As a result, Third World countries are locked into a position in the international division of labour where they find themselves producing commodities which they are forced to export while importing commodities and capital goods which they are unable to produce.

This leads to the extraction of surplus value from the *satellite* to the *metropole* which constitutes, according to *RS*, the basic structure of *underdevelopment*. With this conception of capitalist accumulation, development in one part of the World is premised on and has to generate *underdevelopment* in another. Thus according to *RS*, the classic structure of *underdevelopment* is associated with the occupation of a particular place in the international division of labour and incorporates the features of an export economy producing agricultural and mineral raw materials for the industries in the *centre*. The reallocation of some manufacturing industries to some parts of the Third World in line with readjustments in the current international division of labour is accommodated by the revision of the attributes of *underdevelopment* so that they can now include industrialization, albeit of a necessarily limited or *dependent* kind. *Dependency* theory therefore allows growth (including the expansion of the domestic market) to be accommodated with *underdevelopment* without changing the basic structure of the latter.

According to *RS*, it is this *dependency* which prevents Third World countries from ever being able to achieve the *take-off* into sustained capitalist development, since their *dependent* status rules out the possibility of an autonomous accumulation of capital on the basis of a national bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism. This is the basis for the argument put forward by RS that to promote capitalist development in the Third World under the guise of *modernization*, as is advocated by *OBET*, amounts to promoting the *development of underdevelopment*. Under such circumstances, RS proposes that the only way out for the Third World countries is to *disengage* from the World capitalist system and to opt for *self-centred* socialist development.

In political terms RS, in contrast to *OBET*, offers a far more acceptable ideology to the more progressive Third World leaders and has enabled them to adopt a more radical posture while demanding a change of political will on the part of the ruling classes in the advanced capitalist countries so as to redress the structural imbalance in the capitalist world economy. In this way RS constitutes the ideological basis for the demand by the Third World for a New International Economic Order.

While RS has gone a long way in elaborating the uneven development of capitalism on a world scale and has attacked the *modernization* model of *OBET*, nevertheless like *OBET*, it creates a *selective reality*. This is because its main concern is with the predatory character of the *centre* vis-a-vis the *periphery*, which leads to a conception of *underdevelopment* defined as the opposite of development.

According to *RS*, development is defined in terms of a model of an *autonomous, self-centred* economy. This model is itself taken over uncritically from *OBET* and is based on the assumption that the advanced capitalist economies have already achieved *self-sustained growth*, which does not accord with the concrete reality of any advanced capitalist economy. The advanced capitalist economies are no more *autonomous* than the *underdeveloped* economies in terms of the World economy, a point which is forgotten when making *self-centredness* the distinguishing attribute of *development* (Bernstein, 1977 : 17).

The concept of *self-centredness* is thus an erroneous basis for a model of *development* yet it is through this model that RS has conceptualized the structure of *underdeveloped* economies. As a result of its model of development in the *centre* which has as its necessary condition the underdevelopment of the *periphery* RS must by definition conclude that development is impossible for any country locked in *underdevelopment*.

Methodologically, RS can only yield a linear history of the *underdevelopment* of the *periphery* as a whole or of particular Third World countries. This is because it poses *underdevelopment* as a unitary object of investigation and the *development of underdevelopment* as a unitary process following as a necessary consequence of a particular structural position in the world economy. The content of this history is always the domination of the *periphery* by the *centre*, the exploitation of the former, and the reproduction of *underdevelopment*. As a result, there can be no theoretically specified qualitative differences between the development of capitalism in different *peripheral* countries according to this theory, since the structures of these Third World countries only exhibit quantitative differences in terms of the numbers of their links to the *centres* of world capitalism.

Because of its inability to provide any means for investigating the actual processes of capitalist penetration taking place in the Third World countries, RS reduces the *class struggle* to a stage play with two *actors*, namely *imperialism* as the aggressor and the *Third World* as the victim. In political terms, the historical incapacity of the *dependent* Third World ruling classes to carry through the kind of *national development* postulated by an idealist and utopian conception of *development*, taken over uncritically from OBET, forces RS to search for other *agents of development* and a new programme. Revolution and socialism thus become the main items on the agenda.

Real development is now conceptualized by RS to be the realization of the creative energies of the *people* and their leaders seen as a collective subject mobilized for the good of the nation (Bernstein, 1977:18). This is a form of populism, which despite its revolutionary phraseology, lacks the weapon of revolutionary theory necessary for any effective socialist politics. However, it is important to bear in mind that it is this ideology of RS which has become the breeding ground for some of the radical versions of the Participatory Research Approach.

Section 3: 'Development' according to Historical Materialist Theory

The main premises of historical materialism (*HM*) are as follows:

1. It is the social production and reproduction of material existence through definite historical modes of production which condition all other social phenomena. A mode of production is the specific combination of social relations of production and material forces of production. Through this combination, the social classes characterized by that particular mode of production as well as the economic, political, and ideological institutions of the society are reproduced historically and dialectically.
2. The allocation of social labour between different branches of production in a society characterized by commodity production is brought about by the operation of the *law of value*. The source of value is socially abstract labour, which is manifested concretely through the exchange values of commodities.
3. The capitalist mode of production is distinguished from other modes of production by the dominant position of labour power as a commodity. The sale of workers' labour power for a wage to the capitalist owners of the means of production establishes the objective conditions for the appropriation of surplus value as capitalist profit. Exploitation takes place when unpaid surplus labour generates surplus value over and above the value of the wages paid to workers for their labour power. This exploitation provides the objective basis for the class struggle between labour and capital.

For *HM development* is conceptualized objectively as the growing sophistication and expansion of the forces of production and the social relations of production leading to the increasing elimination of the exploitation of the producing classes made up of workers and peasants through class struggle. Unlike RS, HM does view the process of capitalist penetration of the Third World as developmental. However, there are two very important points to be elaborated regarding this position. In the first place, this position does not deny but rather points to the fact that as *development* takes place, many people in the Third World experience social and economic oppression and exploitation. Secondly, this position should not be mistaken to mean that prior to capitalist penetration the precapitalist modes of production of the Third World are not undergoing processes of development. Certainly precapitalist modes of production are developing more sophisticated means of production and higher labour productivities in response to population growth and the changing social relations of production. Capitalist penetration however raises the tempo of this development.

According to *HM*, the penetration of capital into the precapitalist modes of production of the Third World comes about because of the drive for capitalist profit in the form of surplus value. By the end of the nineteenth century the level of concentration and centralization or capitalism led to the outward expansion of various types of capital beyond the boundaries of the nation states in which they had previously been accumulating. These various kinds of capital included mining capital, industrial capital, settler capital and other forms of agrarian capital which were helped in their outward expansion by finance capital, representing the merger of banking and industrial capital, which structurally facilitated a greater leverage in the planning and financing of national capital investment as a whole.

However, HM does not assume that when these various kinds of capital penetrate the Third World they meet no resistance. They rarely, if ever, meet the conditions under which capitalist profit is directly realizable, namely, all pervasive commodity production and a *free* labour force. A *free* labour force, according to *HM*, consists of workers who have the specific characteristic of not owning any means of production necessary for the production of their means of subsistence and thus their material reproduction. Hence as *free* labourers they are in a position of having to sell their labour power in exchange for a wage. This, however, is not the case in most precapitalist societies where the masses of people generally have some access, if not ownership, to the means of production, which usually consist of cultivable land, livestock and agricultural tools.

The different kinds of capital that penetrate the precapitalist modes of production in the Third World thus face certain problems regarding the means by which they can make their investments profitable. The way in which these different kinds of capital succeed in extracting profit depends on the nature of the investment, the type of production and the conditions under which that type of production takes place. For example, mining investment would require some kind of *free* labour force whereas an investment in coffee production could be made on the basis of peasant commodity production. However, all these forms of investment depend to a large extent on the degree to which these different kinds of capital have the coercive force of state power to assist them as well as the nature and strength of the precapitalist modes of production which they find in existence.

To the extent that capitalist profit is realized this takes place, according to *HM*, on the basis of the *articulation* of the capitalist mode of production to the precapitalist modes of production in the Third World. For *HM*, this *articulation* is the basis for the long term dissolution of the precapitalist modes of production with the ever-growing dominance and assertion of capitalism. HM analyses this process as *primitive accumulation*, a process whereby precapitalist producers are gradually dispossessed of their means of production and subsistence. Since this is the main concept used by *HM* for explaining *underdevelopment*, it is necessary to examine it in some detail.

Generally, *primitive accumulation* takes one or any combination of the following three basic forms:

1. The attempt to utterly destroy the precapitalist mode of production and to physically eliminate the precapitalist producers.
2. The attempt to actively create the conditions under which capitalist profit can be realized, namely, the creation of a *free* labour force.
3. The attempt to co-exist with precapitalist modes of production which means in practice the gradual transformation

of precapitalist producers into commodity producing peasants.

All three forms of *primitive accumulation* continue to operate to the present and represent different aspects of the process whereby the precapitalist producers are dispossessed of their means of production.

The first form entails the use of physical force and violence and most prevalent in South America where millions of Indians have been exterminated in order to enable settlers to occupy their land. In Africa the closest approximation to this form is found in South Africa. Here settler capital and the South African state have pushed the African population into only 13% of the country's total land area. The land is marginal in a qualitative sense as well, being the most infertile and dry areas of South Africa. There, African families eke out their survival and infant mortality is one of the highest in the world.

The second form was especially important in Africa for mining and plantation capital. We find its occurrence on a very large scale in South Africa, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Zaire in relation to mining. Plantation capital created labour reserves throughout Africa. In the colonial period taxation and migrant labour, which were associated with this form of *primitive accumulation*, did not completely divorce the labourer from their means of production since the process of creating a *free* labour force was still in a stage of transition. In the post-colonial African states many of these labour forces have been stabilized with the granting of minimum wages. These minimum wages have increased the wage level to that of a family wage, which are supposed to cover the costs of the reproduction of the labourer's family.

The third form of *primitive accumulation* is the result of the operation of the *law of value* within peasant commodity production, which not only undermines precapitalist economic calculations but also acts in the long run to make peasant commodity production obsolete in relation to other forms of commodity production mediated through the capitalist world market. This is because the low levels of labour productivity found in peasant production, relative to other forms of commodity production exchanged through the world market, leads to an increasing *devalorization* of the peasants' labour time. In other words, peasants work long hours to produce cash crops which enable them to buy industrial goods that are produced in only a fraction of the time that it takes them to produce their cash crops. If the terms of trade between primary commodities are declining then this will adversely affect peasants to the extent that they depend on industrial commodities for their material reproduction.

If this process is intensified over a period of time then peasants may find themselves being effectively *dispossessed* of their means of production. If this happens peasants are placed in a position where they are reduced to selling their labour power either in the rural areas or by migrating to towns and thus becoming *proletarianized.*

From the above it is clear that unlike RS, HM does not and cannot make sweeping generalization about the nature of the penetration of different types of capital into the precapitalist modes of production. For *HM*, any analysis of capitalist penetration must be specified with regard to the particular Third World country and the precapitalist modes of production that are found there. In addition, the particular type of capital which is penetrating, its stage of development and its requirements for social reproduction must be specified.

From this it follows that it is not possible for *HM* to give a definite explanation of the *underdevelopment* of the Third World as a whole in the way that RS tries to. Instead *HM* points out that the expansion of different types of capital has reached an imperialist stage whereby they seek to penetrate and establish themselves world-wide. In this process they trigger off *primitive accumulation* in the precapitalist modes of production of the Third World.

Beyond this, HM points out that precapitalist modes of production tend to dissolve under the increasing penetration of capital. This is because capitalism displaces the lower labour productivities of the precapitalist modes of production when it struggles to increase its rate of exploitation, and in this sense development is brought about. However, this development never takes place without the complexities of social struggle. The process of *primitive accumulation*, which lays the basis for higher labour productivities at the same time inflicts great social and economic hardships, and inevitably evokes class struggle.

The nature of this class struggle is influenced by the internal logic of the precapitalist modes of production in their 'articulation' with different kinds of capital. Thus, it is in the dialectic between the precapitalist modes of production and their *articulation* with different kinds of capital following their penetration, that particular kinds of class struggles arise, which are the key to understanding what RS refers to as *underdevelopment*.

Methodologically, an analysis of any specific Third World country based on HM would have to investigate the different modes of economic calculation found in those precapitalist modes of production whose elements become articulated with capitalism. The consequent development of an increasingly complex social division of labour would require an investigation of the different forms of exploitation of labour and the subsequent nature of the class struggles in the different branches of production, in the context of the unevenness of development resulting from the penetration by different types of capital.

Section 4 : The Concept of Socialist Development.

The preceding sections have considered various analyses of capitalist development. This paper would not be complete, however, without briefly mentioning how these same schools of thought view *socialist development*.

The term *cold war* refers to the anti-communist ideology propagated by the Post-World War II governments of the United States and its allies. The same term sums up the view held by *OBET* towards socialist development. *OBET* refuses to acknowledge the economic nature of socialism, arguing that socialism is a product of political dictatorship, which acts to suppress all *natural* forms of economic intercourse.

RS, on the other hand, embraces socialism naively as the solution to *underdevelopment*. As a result, socialist development is posed in purely ideological terms as the way to resolve the problems which are caused by capitalism. In this way socialism is seen to represent a rational choice whereby *dependent* development can be rejected in favour of a rational employment of resources for the most rapid solution of the nation's difficulties.

Increasingly, a notion of socialism has emerged based on the rejection of a *progressive* national bourgeoisie as the basis of development. This is substituted instead by the idea of enlightened planning policies to be put into practice by the existing governments in the Third World.

Ironically, this redefinition of *socialism* has come to be entirely acceptable to *OBET*. In fact, it is in this context that we can see how RS has been reassimilated into *OBET*, since it is on this basis that the ideology of *Basic Needs Oriented Strategies* has been quickly able to gain acceptance as being compatible with *socialism* and the World Bank and other advanced capitalist countries have been willing to invest large amounts of finance capital in *Integrated Rural Development Projects*, also in the interests of *socialism*.

In this way socialism has become something which is to be chosen for its superiority over capitalism, rather than as an outcome dictated by the balance of class forces and the dynamic of class struggle. The arguments centre on why it is necessary rather than on whether it is immediately possible. As a result, detailed analyses of the nature and focus of existing class struggles are rare both for the advanced capitalist countries and the Third World.

As for the analysis of advanced capitalist countries, many exponents of RS assume that class struggle has disappeared for the time being in the advanced capitalist countries. It is argued that class struggle can be managed out of existence through the *social contract* between capital and labour in the advanced capitalist countries. This leads to the politically dangerous argument that the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries shares in the exploitation of the workers and peasants in the Third World. It is forgotten that it is only capital which can exploit labour power and as a result RS effectively loses sight of class analysis and class struggle.

As for the Third World we have already seen RS has a tendency to ignore class struggle. A more recent variation of *RS*, which purports to be *HM*, makes this tendency more garing. This theory argues that Third World countries constitute *neocolonies* and have yet to resolve the *national question*. It is argued that they must first carry through the national democratic revolution on the basis of an alliance between the proletariat and all other anti-imperialist classes in the *neocolonies* before embarking on the socialist revolution.

According to this theory it is only on the basis of *new democracy* (following the Chinese experience) that a foundation can be built for the development of a new kind of capitalism (state capitalism), which it is argued is a necessary transitional stage to socialism. The argument for the development of state capitalism in the *neocolonies*, in order to counter foreign monopoly capitalism, is based on the idea that this new kind of state capitalism, when integrated into a national plan, will enable state capital to play a leading role in meeting the needs of the people and the state. It is argued that in this way the state capitalist economy of a new type increasingly takes on a socialist character and thus benefits the workers and peasants as well as the state (*Nabudere, 1978: 44-54*).

Exponents of this theory, in their attempt to argue for unity against the principal enemy, imperialism, stress the importance of the political dimension and the need to consolidate the bourgeois democratic rights of the proletariat. The principal difficulty with this theory is that it presupposes the political leadership of a joint dictatorship of all revolutionary forces as the basis for the national democratic alliance against imperialism. As a result, it is not able to analyse the contradictions which arise from concrete conditions in the Third World where the petty bourgeois ruling classes are in control of state power and the proletariat is politically repressed. In such situations this theory, when put forward, can be opportunistically manipulated to dampen the class struggle of the proletariat, while allowing the status quo of imperialist exploitation to be reproduced. This is something the theory claims to be addressing itself against on the basis of the argument that in the *neocolonies* all the classes with the exception of the comprador bourgeoisie are oppressed. The conception of socialist development according to HM centres around the operation of the *law of value* and is premised on the control of state power by the proletariat. The theory of socialist planning is based on the conscious regulation of the *law of value* (and more specifically commodity relations) in the socialist mode of production. Emphasis is placed on the relationship between the development of *state socialism* and the *withering away of the state*, as well as on the conceptualization of the relations of production in the transition to socialism. The leading theme in political terms is to curb the growth of state power so as to prevent *bureaucratism* from stifling the initiatives of the workers and peasants in socialist construction.

While accepting that state control of the *commanding heights* of the economy is a necessary condition for the socialization of the economy and for building up the socialist accumulation fund, *HM* argues that this must be accompanied by an increasing democratization and decentralization of state power, so that the economy is effectively placed in the hands of the workers and peasants rather than being managed on their behalf by a state bourgeoisie. To do this the socialist party of the workers and peasants must also be democratized in order to be able to uphold a consistently revolutionary line. This is based on the argument that political struggles between different economic agents and their forms of economic calculation must be allowed to constructively influence and affect the forms of calculation of the central planning apparatus if democratic socialist development is to be achieved (Littlejohn, 1978).

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Discussant Response to Paper 1

Linda Harasim

Lead paper 1 begins the seminar by examining how the very nature of development is understood and employed in the social sciences. This represents an important step in the process of clarification/self-clarification, by demarcating essentially between two dominant world views and identifying the ideological implications within the philosophical conceptualization of development. How the very nature of development is understood and defined determines the capacity of any and all struggles to emerge from the condition of capitalist exploitation and imperialist underdevelopment and dependency. It determines which, if any, methodological tools are available to illuminate the social contradictions within a society whereby strategies to resolve them may be developed. Paper 1 initiates this process. It attempts to categorize and characterize concepts of development currently prevalent.

Three principal views of development are laid out: the *OBET*; the *RS*; and the *HM*. The authors, however, point out that there are really only two philosophical positions, as *RS* is, in fact, ultimately a variant of *OBET*. We are left therefore with essentially two major philosophical trends (which may be seen as corresponding to the two dominant social classes: capital and labour).

Among those who have come to regard change as law-governed development, there are two different philosophical positions: the materialist and the idealist. The materialist proceeds from the development of the objective material world, whereas the idealist sees in this development the unfolding of *Idea*, of spiritual essence. Each of these two basic philosophic camps contains their conception of the type and character of law-governed development. I would like to briefly survey the philosophical basis of each in order to provide a framework for my discussion of Paper 1.

The exponents of Idealism see in development a simple increase or diminuition, a repetition therefore of that which already exists. They are able to explain change only quantitatively. And so they hold that capitalism in the twentieth century is not quantitatively new in comparison with its earlier period of development. According to this view we are dealing *only* with quantitative developments of already existing elements and factors of capitalism.

This view of development is static and mechanistic. It cannot explain development—the emergence of the new out of the old, but can merely describe the growth, the decrease or repetition of this or that aspect. It remains on the surface of movement, but cannot penetrate its essence and divulge the internal cause of change. It is unable to show how and why a given process develops, and is compelled to seek an external factor for the quantitatively new. Thus it is impossible from this position to show why capitalism must inevitably grow into socialism or why classes will disappear as a result of class struggle.

The exponents of materialism, on the other hand, proceed from the standpoint that everything develops by means of a struggle of opposites, a dichotomy, of every unity into mutually exclusive opposites. Thus capitalism develops in virtue of the contradiction between the social character of production and the private means of appropriation. Transitional economy develops on the basis of the struggle between developing and growing socialism and developed but not yet annihilated capitalism. Through sharpened class conflict, classes will eventually disappear.

This second view, not remaining on the surface of phenomena, expresses the essence of movement as a unity of opposites. The causes of development are sought *within* not *outside* the process, to disclose the internal laws responsible for the development of that process. This source or key to self-movement is contradiction, or dialectics.

Thus only by disclosing the basic contradictions of capitalism and by showing that the inevitable consequence is the destruction of capitalism by proletarian revolution do we explain the historic necessity of socialism. This is the conception of dialectical materialism.

Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life. In reading Paper 1, however, we are surprised to note the relative absence of any reference to dialectics. The term is mentioned only twice. Is this concept merely assumed by the authors, who otherwise go into fairly explicit description of historical materialism. Or is there a non-dialectical variant of historical materialism being suggested?

Not only is the concept not defined, it is not employed. Paper 1 is organized in four sections. The first three define views of capitalist development held by *OBET*, *RS* and *HM*. The fourth section characterizes the view of socialist development held by the above three schools of thought. Such a format between 1-3 and 4, however, suggests a mechanical juxtaposing between capitalist and socialist *development*. It further implies a magical appearance of socialism, rather than reflecting its emergence out of capitalism through class struggle. In fact, the nature of social transformation and qantitative change is ignored in the paper. What are the forces (objective and subjective) necessary to create the conditions for socialist development? How do we arrive at socialism? Is it through evolution? Via peaceful transition? Through external forces? These questions have ideological implications and ultimately can reflect class interests. How do contradictions within capitalism lead the way to socialist transformation ? What of the question of organization in the class struggle and the role of the proletariat party? These are critical issues in any class-conscious analysis. Most fundamentally, in looking at socialist development we must be clear on who holds state power and in whose interest. This is the fundamental base from which other questions of socialist construction derive. Dialectical materialism as a method clarifies the nature of qualitative change and the revolutionizing of productive forces and social relations. By avoiding this issue, the paper suggests a static and mechanistic understanding of social transformation in which socialism seems to drop from the sky or is implanted, for as in this paper, it is parachuted in.

Nor do the authors explain why they have included a section on socialist development beyond merely stating that the paper would not be complete without it. But why it should be included or how we arrive at it remains a mystery. How does class struggle lead to social revolution? Paper 1 implicitly recognizes Marx's theory of exploitation, but does not refer to the contradiction between the social organization of labour and private appropriation under capitalism. The forces of the new socialist society ripen at the core of capitalism.

The focus and organization of Paper 1 distort the nature and significance of the class struggle by not placing it at the centre of the analysis. The paper focusses on concepts of development within the social sciences. Rather, we would submit, more fundamentally, the issue is the two major concepts of development (corresponding to the two dominant social classes) and the role of the social sciences in the class struggle.

A mechanistic, idealistic understanding of development pervades Paper 1. We began this response by acknowledging the necessity for clarity on the two fundamental views of development. Yet the authors themselves neither define nor defend their methodology. Nor do they state their objectives. What was Paper 1 intended to accomplish? How? Why? How does Paper 1 link up with successive papers? Paper 1 provides no insight into these questions.

Nor does the paper relate theory to practice or to a material and class base. How does it relate to PRP? How does it relate to class struggle? What in fact is the class position in the paper?

We suggest that more concrete illustrations and references to political and practical implications would strengthen the demarcation between the class positions and contribute towards the clarity of the analysis. The paper becomes an overly abstract presentation, the theoreticism, in fact, at times obliterating any value of the analysis. This is particularly the case with the position categorized by the authors as *Radical Structuralism*. Despite their intensity, the discussions and exchanges in the underdevelopment/dependency arguments have generated more heat than light. Given the length and breadth of these debates and particularly with their significance within *Third World* studies, an analysis capable of penetrating the essence of the arguments is indeed very welcome and much needed. Nevertheless, in Paper 1, it is not defined *who* Bryceson and Mustafa include in this category. Many contributions including certain *Marxists*, employing class analysis, have entered into the debates. It is impossible for the reader to asssess or situate the accuracy or value of Bryceson and Mustafa's demarcation given the total absence of any references. Even the bibliography does not indicate any primary sources.

We offer criticism in the spirit of our mutual struggles towards developing a political self-consciousness, strengthening our theoretical analysis and therefore the potency of our practice. We welcome the initiation by the African team of an enquiry into the fundamental issues of development.

Theory can either advance or retard the struggle. Paper 1 raises certain critical issues regarding concepts of socialist development, by recognizing the question of class nature. We are presently in the era of imperialism, of monopoly capitalism and globally the class struggle is intensifying. We here in Canada are not outside the arena of struggle. In Canada working class action is becoming an increasingly organized and militant force *INCO*, postal workers, Puretex, immigrants, anti-racism) in response to deepening crisis and exploitation. As a consequence of the growing contradictions, ideological struggle is intensifying. This is the case as well, as Bryceson and Mustafa point out, in the *Third World*. Given the imperatives of Imperialism the ideological struggle over development strategies for *Third World* nations is similarly intensifying. Internationally we see a number of *solutions* being actively advanced. As Mustafa and Bryceson observe, however, whereas many of these may purport to be based on historical materialism, the nature of class forces and the dynamic of class struggle are not considered. This situation, therefore, demands clarity on the nature of socialist development. We must penetrate beneath the surface appearance to illumine the essence of the class position.

Despite the recent currency of *socialistic* concepts by agents of Western powers (World Bank, U.S. AID, etc.) and their talk of *alternative development strategies,* we find upon closer scrutiny that terms such as *basic needs, self-reliance* and *integrated rural development* do not necessarily imply egalitarianism or social justice and by themselves can reflect no more than a technical and not social relationship.

Similarly, certain prevalent *socialist* versions of development strategies for Third World nations essentially abandon proletariat revolution. The Chinese *Three Worlds Theory* and the Soviet *non-capitalist* path present an intermediary stage as consolidation of *national* capital in which the proletariat is to reinforce the national bourgeoisie after national liberation. In these strategies of stages a large national-democratic front is proposed, but the proposal does not specify around which class interest or who is to lead it : is it the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? Is the transition state proletariat or bourgeois? The implications of these strategies are class collaboration and the development of state capitalism. Non-capitalism shows itself to be in fact neo-colonialism. As Paper 1 implies, talking about stages in socialist construction is a hoax if it is separated from the question of political power.

The political implications are therefore fundamental in how we analyze and understand development. Bryceson and Mustafa recognize seizing the control of state power by the proletariat as a premise of socialist development. Furthermore, we may add, the second premise is the dictatorship of the proletariat. From there derive all other questions.

The compelling argument here is that we must be clear on what kind of development and for whom. Such clarity comes from our ability to analyze the class interest being advanced in any development theory and/or practice. By clarifying the class nature of development theories and strategies we in Participatory Research project can consciously choose and ensure who our work in PRP is to serve.

Discussion Paper 2

The Politics of Research Methodology in the Social Sciences

Marjorie Mbilinyi, Ulla Vuerela, Yusuf Kassam and Yohana Masisi

Introduction

In this paper we critically examine various research methodologies which have been employed in the social sciences and which have developed in the context of conditions determined by the historical development of capitalism in Africa. This analysis establishes the context in which the Participatory Research Approach emerged, to be investigated in Discussion Paper 3.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first section analyses the dominant social science research methodologies and the conditions of production of knowledge in the present epoch of imperialism. The methodologies developed in Africa are examined in the second section in relation to differect periods of capitalist development, with focus on anthropology. The third section analyses struggles over the production and reproduction of knowledge (i.e. research and education), using the Experimental World Literacy Programme as an example of worldwide basic education reform which is organised complete with its evaluation package. Struggles against the dominant tendencies of neo-positivism and pragmatism are briefly discussed in this final section.

I. Social Science Research Methodology

Theory and Technique

Methods of investigation, including particular techniques of data collection and data analysis, cannot be separated from theory. The concept *methodology* is used to refer to the conceptual framework as well as the rules or procedures which govern the construction of the concept and their use in analysis. The methodology of a given research undertaking is not only important in defining how the research investigation is carried out but also has bearing on what instruments are used, and how the findings are interpreted. The methodology used determines the very questions which are posed, or issues to be investigated. This also means that the very *'facts'* which are produced by researchers are produced *within* a given methodology, and cannot be considered as *external*, *out there* waiting for the researcher to appropriate them. *Facts* produced by researchers are therefore also problems with respect to how and why they have been produced.

Bourgeois methodologies dominate in research institutions and universities, e.g. economics, history, anthropology, geography, sociology, psychology. In general, bourgeois methodologies are associated with an idealist as opposed to a materialist outlook. They investigate at the *level of appearances* and do not penetrate underlying reality in order to understand the material basis of observable and/or subjective phenomena. Analyses become descriptive, non-explanatory, ahistorical and assume an equilibrium model of society which emphasises social harmony. Struggles and confrontation either are not posed as problems or else are conceived to be deviance. Social problems are reduced to individual phenomena. Under the present epoch of imperialism, bourgeois methodologies are increasingly devoid of substantive content and have been reduced to a bundle of research techniques. Their ideological function revolves around the reproduction of conditions of existence of capitalist relations of production, with emphasis on greater efficiency and productivity, hence, greater social control of the working class in order to make greater profits.

Although certain techniques of investigation are highly associated with particular bourgeois methodologies, this is not to say that they cannot be employed within historical materialism. For example, a researcher working within historical materialism may employ questionnaires and secondary statistical analyses as *tools* of investigation. What distinguishes the *use* of these tools will be the nature of the problem posed; the actual practice of investigation itself, i.e., the process of investigation involving the tools of investigation, the set of concepts and the basic rules underlying their construction and use investigation.

At the same time, an uncritical acceptance of common research techniques, which does not confront the assumptions and concepts which underlie them, will tend to reproduce bourgeois methodologies. Hence, it is essential for us to critically examine some of the most common methods of investigation employed in the social sciences in order to delineate the false premises under which they are used.

Neo-Positivism

Several basic assumptions and demands underlie neo-positivistic social science:

1. objectivity and the value-free nature of research;
2. the separation between subject and object;
3. that the gap between external *reality* and the researcher's appropriation of that reality can be closed through further and further refinement of research techniques;
4. that statistical analysis provides the only scientific basis of verification. Models of statistical analysis are then drawn from experimentation in the natural sciences, in order to create a quasi-experimental manipulation of 'variables' with the underlying assumption that it is possible to isolate particular variables and analyse their interrelationships without '*contamination*' from the surrounding conditions in which they are situated and are developing/transforming; that the ultimate test of a research's correspondence to '*truth*' is its replicability.

Although derived from logical positivism, neo-positivism is a vulgarised version in that the problem of theory is ignored. Whereas C.W. Mills (1975) could criticise *grand theory* for its idealist and a historical approach to social science research, at least there was an attempt to probe through the literature and develop a theoretical framework from which hypotheses were derived. Neo-positivism adopts hypothese which have not been explicitly theorised at *any* level and which are treated as non-problematic. They are derived frequently from practical problems and common-sense understanding, illustrating the convergence of pragmatism and positivism. Pragmatism will be explored more fully in discussion Paper 3. Here we will concentrate on neo-positivism.

Research techniques which are employed under the influence of neo-positivism include large sample size, randomly selected if possible; the use of survey approach with its characteristic questionnaire techniques; and cross-sectional analysis which is necessarily static and ahistorical. The outcome of such research tends to be descriptive, prescriptive and non-explanatory. Underlying social relations are taken for granted as non-problematic. Given the criteria that research examines *observable* phenomena, by definition it cannot penetrate the surface level of appearances in order to investigate underlying reality.

Conditions of Production of Knowledge

The universities train social science researchers within particular bourgeois methodologies to use social science research techniques produced within them. The agencies which finance social science research (state, private foundations, international agencies, universities) also work within bourgeois methodologies and demand the same from researchers supported by their infrastructure and finance. Indeed, the formats followed for research proposals at Universities and funding agencies are constructed from within a neo-positivist epistemology: e.g., statement of hypotheses, instrumentation, proposed data analysis (i.e. statistical analysis), etc.

Likewise, academic and professional journals and book publishers reproduce the knowledge generated within bourgeois methodologies. In turn, having ample and well-known publications in the very same organs is necessary to acquire and maintain a position in the university and research institutions, and to receive recognition and promotion.

As research has become subordinated to the interests of capital, increasingly capital intensive techniques have developed in the social sciences. The application of mathematics to social science research in the form of statistical analysis is highly identified with computer analysis. In turn, such techniques demand large scale endeavours involving large sample populations and highly efficient (cost-saving) techniques of data collection, with the questionnaire format (including rating and ranking scales) being the most common technique worldwide. An ever increasing amount of capital is necessary to engage in social science research, both to buy the implements of producing knowledge (e.g. computers, other statistical machines) and of reproducing knowledge (Xerox machines, typewriters, etc.) as well as the human labour necessary (researchers of various certification, technicians, documentalists, statisticians, coders, punchers, etc.).

There is a proliferation of research institutions solely geared to the production and sale of research expertise in the form of technological advances in raw materials and implements of production (e.g. chemical research). Consultant firms are oriented towards increasing the level of labour productivity and labour intensification at the work place. So too, research focusses on (*ideological*) institutions like schools and social welfare programmes which have become vital conditions of existence of capitalism. The state directly invests in research conducted in research institutions and universities, as well as state departments and sectors such as military industry.

Social science research is increasingly produced under factory conditions. The growing centralisation and coordination of research owned and/or controlled by capital has been accompanied by growing hierarchisation, specialisation, fragmentation and technocratisation in the research enterprise as well as in the education institutions responsible for training such personnel, namely the University. At one level, researchers have become more and more like technicians, trained to use a package of techniques, but not educated to think and to develop explanatory theory. At another level, experts and scientists are paid, knowingly or not, to use their creative abilities in the interests of capital, which means their work is conditioned by the demand to produce profit or else to develop ideological vehicles which contribute to reproduce the conditions of existence of capitalism. The latter task is of cource the one to which social science research is primarily geared.

As a result of these developments, social science research has become increasingly specialised, technocised, and fragmented in character. Basic research *for its own sake* has been supplanted by 'applied research' ostensibly developed to solve practical technical and/or social problems. In practice, 'applied research' contributes directly and indirectly to capital's quest for profits and surplus value. To the extent that inventions, for example, are incorporated into the production process, they represent productive forces. Worker motivation studies have been important in the design of management/supervision strategies of capitalists, thus contributing to the conditions of existence of capitalist relations at the level of the work place and society overall.

The development of technological innovation has been spurred on by the role of technological rent as a key source of profit within the advanced capitalist countries as well as internationally. Moreover, the social relations underlying technological rent perpetuate the form of exploitation identified with international dependency. It is important to consider the growing significance of research as a sector of capitalist industry worldwide, in order to understand the politics of social science research in Africa (see Mandel 1978 for further analysis).

II. Social Science Research Methodology as a Reflection of Stages of Capitalist Development

This section analyses the different methodologies which emerged at different periods in the development of the social sciences, with special reference to anthropology. It shows that these methodologies were congruent with and indeed supportive of the dominant political ideology of each period.

In general, we see the emergence of the anthropological problematic with the early period of penetration by merchant capital. Beginning with evolutionism and its associated armchair-approach, anthropological methods of investigation moved on to participant observation during the colonial period. Applied anthropology developed side-by-side with the neo-positivist survey techniques operating within all bourgeois problematic during the later colonial and especially the post-colonial period.

Our analysis will show that changes which occurred in methods of investigation were determined on the one hand by changing material conditions which altered the very problems under investigation, and on the other hand, by contradictory developments within the research methodologies themselves. This will be illuminated through brief analyses of the development of anthropology, sociology and *education* problematics in the United States, Britain and in Africa.

It is important to note that the research methodologies were taking shape in the United States and Europe. So if we talk about social science research in relation to Africa it actually refers to research done *on* Africa or about Africa. It is only in conjunction with the liberation process of African countries that there arises conscious demand for liberating the social sciences as well.

A. The Pre-Colonial Period

The 'discovery' of the *savage* world in the 15th century led to the establishment of an area of knowledge known as *moral history*. By the late 18th century an impressive amount of information had been accumulated in Europe and America about the customs of the *savage* or *barbaric* people by *discoverers*, travellers, missionaries traders etc. Western scholars started to systematize such material and developed the conceptualisation of *civilisation* and *primitive world*. They saw themselves at the centre of civilisation and thus placed themselves at the centre of the colonialist ideology, which was going to be further developed in the 19th century.

In accordance with the ideology of *evolutionism* within history and the sciences in the period, Western scholars started to speculate on the origin and development of culture and society. Evolutionary thinking was essentially positivist. Causality in history was to be found in the evolution of labour and technology. The scientific thinking in ethnology was more centered around museums than universities, with emphasis on putting exhibits of 'material' culture on display which were organized into typological series in order to illuminate the evolution of technology of objects from simple into more complex, more developed forms. Along the same line of thought, even societies were objectivized. It was thought that looking into different societies on a more 'primitive' level would shed light on the earlier stages in the development of Western civilisation. The reification went as far as bringing groups or individuals for display at the royal courts and at public fairs and expositions. At the same time, no thought was given to the context of individual exhibits, and the problem of displaying/investigating objects from entirely different social formations as if they represented stages in the same universal development.

Theorizing in ethnological thought was based on secondary data collected not by the ethnological scientists themselves but by travellers, missionaries, etc., and which was usually taken out of context. There arose quest for a more systematic and accurate collection of data from the specific problematics of the discipline itself. At the same time as ethnology became *professionalised*, a scientific fieldwork emerged as a critique against the reliance on data collected in an unsystematic and chance way. The physical presence of a full-time scientist in the community under study became a necessity.

This development of professional field work took place first in America in the 1870's when a Bureau of American Ethnology was established in 1879 with the support of the American state. The Bureau produced technical information on Native American Indian groups which could be used in assimilating them into their particular place in the American milieu. This move followed the long history of wars of extermination, when the Native American tribes had been vanquished and pushed onto reservations. Here we see the convergence of demands for a more *scientific* positivist approach emerging on the one hand from within the problematics of anthropology, and on the other hand, from its role as a weapon of the state in specific class struggles. In Africa, professional field work was also used as a tool of social control after the establishment of colonial state rule.

B. The Colonial Period

Between 1920-30 a critique of evolutionism in Britain led to the establishment of the *functionalist school* in anthropology which laid stress on fieldwork, the researcher's involvement in the society under study and methods of observation and analysis. The aim was to be able to report explicitly on a total context of behaviour (as opposed to chance excerpts of data from here and there). This was achieved through *participant observation*, the lived-in experience of the anthropologist in the society. He was in physical approximity over a lengthy period of time, in direct communication with the people in their own language.

Malinowski, a leading figure of functionalism laid the foundations of the data-collection techniques of participant observation (see Malinowski, 1921). He distinguished three broad kinds of data, each of which demanded specific techniques of collection and recording. The data one collected came from the opinions and descriptions which were elicitied from the people themselves, and from the observation of actual cases. In addition to this the field worker observed the actualities of social action on an everyday level, recording his observation in a special ethnographic diary. As a third kind of data, items of folklore and magical formulae were collected as documents of native mentality.

Despite the close involvement with the people under study, the aim was, however, at the same time to keep oneself '*detached*' from them in order to secure an objective description of the society. The anthropologist was told to remove his personal biases as an observer, and was also warned against a temptation to become a sentimental champion of his *primitives*. In this way, despite the willingness to respect the humanness of the people, the anthropologist still reified and manipulated the society under study for his own purposes within the scientific community.

In the universities of the time, anthropological prestige was gained through being an expert of two or three societies untouched by Western civilization. Hortense Powdermaker, a student of Malinowski describes the beginning of her studies in London:

> "I felt decidedly inferior to my fellow students and was also envious. Each had a 'people' while I had none." (*Powder maker, 1967 : 43*).

Functionalism also isolated the societies under study from history. It argued that societies could be understood and explained from their present function as a whole, and they were conceived of being in a state of equilibrium. The detachment of the researcher was essential so as not to disturb the equlibrium of the society, and to secure an adequate description of the indigenous society. The object of the study was chosen with the criteria of finding a society not 'disturbed' by Western influence.

> "I was the first anthropologist to study this society, then relatively uninfluenced by modern civilization (*Powdermaker, 1967 : 49*).
>
> "Although pleased with the friendliness of the Lesu people (in Melanesia) and their cooperation in giving me data, yet I was a bit disappointed that some had contact with white people. I yearned romantically for an 'untouched' people and I began wondering about the possibility of going to another island where contacts were almost non-existent" (*Powdermaker, 1967 : 68*).

A description of the discussion of Malinowski's students in London further illuminates the point.

> "We talked of the need to keep the natives pure and undefiled by missionaries and civil servants. Missionaries were an enemy, except for E. Smith and H.W. Junod, who apparently were more interested in learning about the tribal peoples than in converting them. British civil servants on leave came to Malinowski's lectures, and we accepted this point that training could make them more respectful and less disruptive of native life" (*Powdermaker, 1967: 43*).

Moreover, the anthropologist was not interested in helping informants even if he could do so inadvertently, but as Powdermaker herself states;

> "His first and foremost motivation was to secure data."

Participation thus meant (1) detached observation by the anthropologist in search of his/her data; (2) involvement of the researcher in the life of the community with the aim of not affecting the community and thus securing *authentic* data. People under study were reified into objects providing the researcher with data. The problematic was entirely that of the scientific community geared towards shedding light on the *universal man* or *generalizations about the common features of all human societies, which would constitute social laws.* The latter is especially associated with social anthropology and Radcliffe Brown (*1922*).

Anthropology and Politics, Politics of Anthropology

In the same way that participant observation was not concerned about the problems of the people under study, it also sought to maintain subjective distance from policy-making, Radcliffe Brown, for example, argued that the anthropologist's job was simply to provide a scientific appraisal of the situation which the administrator faced; he should not attempt to advocate any particular policy (*Radcliffe Brown, 1922 : 38*).

Nevertheless, the establishment of anthropology as a specific discipline was dependent for its existence on the conditions created by colonialism. It served more or less consciously the justification of colonialisation. In the context of British policy of *indirect rule* colonial authorities were very much concerned with the methods with which the people under their domination could be more effectively administered. *Traditional* forms of government were to be accomodated for this purpose. In actual fact the anthropologist became a professional in the colonialist situation, most explicitly when employed as *government anthropologist* in the colonies (for example, Cory and Gulliver in Tanganyika). *Finding the key* was the watchword which it shared with the colonial administration, and directly inspired all political anthropology and the holistic studies of the structures of the indigenous society. However, on an ideological level, by breaking with history, functionalism subjectively denied and eliminated the phenomenon of colonial domination. It misrepresented the colonial reality by analyzing it in terms of cultural contact, acculturation or diffusion of European culture among the indigenous culture. Anthropology first reified other societies in order to appropriate them better as a subject matter, then set them aside either in order to dominate them or assimilate them in a dominating society.

C. The Transitional Period from the Colonial to the Post-Colonial Period : Post-World War II

Conditions in Africa changed during and after World War II, which required different tactics for capital. International capital began to invest an incresing amount in mining industry, manufacturing and in capitalist agriculture, and into the inputs necessary for increased labour productivity among peasant commodity producers. It is impossible to generalise that such developments occured at the same space in all countries and regions of Africa, but the trend began at this time and continues to the present.

At the same time, the nature and scale of international class struggle had changed. National liberation struggles changed. National liberation struggles in Asia, Latin America and Africa and the emergence of powerful socialist states threatened the international hegemony of capital.

The nature of *the problem* had therefore changed. The problem was no longer one of penetrating the culture of precapitalist social formations in the context of confrontation and war/resistance between the colonial state and these formations, the early phase of the primitive accumulation process. Now the problem had become one of the form of organisation of labour, a problem of social control of the labour force where large numbers were proletarianised as migrant labourers or permanent urban residents, and even larger numbers were *tied* to land upon which they were less and less able to reproduce themselves. Both processes of capital accumulation and primitive accumulation were developing in a dialectical relationship to each other as Discussion Paper 1 has shown. The social problems which emerged required a combination of methods of investigation : rural-urban migration e.g. of middle school leavers in particular; growing divorce rates and wife runaways; workers resistance to capitalist demands for regularity, punctuality, precision and submissiveness; etc. Reforms were called for in education, social welfare, government policy regarding migrant labour, and so on.

As the conditions changed under which the production of knowledge took place, so did the methods of investigation. Earlier participant observation studies tended to be piece-meal, small-scale and individualised work operating on low budgets and concentrating on case study approaches. These methods were appropriate for examining precapitalist social formations during the earlier phase of primitive accumulation. They were no longer appropriate however to solve the problems unleashed during this new phase of capitalist development.

After World War II there were larger scale problems, involving a larger and more mobile population. Sophisticated technology in statistical analysis, computerisation and data collection first developed by the military was adopted in an attempt to gain control of the new social situation. *Human engineering* as a form of behaviourism emerged as the dominant trend in the new sciences of industrial psychology and sociology and education psychology and education sociology.

In Africa as elsewhere, especially the United States, anthropologists were faced with demands for *hard data* about subject peoples and the proletariate. Traditional anthropologists and sociologists found themselves without funding, and individual research became subsumed by *teamwork* involving large-scale endeavours. Their response was to argue that purely quantitative methods of investigation were not successful in penetrating the reality of such target problems (peoples), and that it was essential for the researcher to be physically present to get a more personal, first hand experience.

As a result, participant observation was reconstituted in conformity to the dictates of neo-positivism. It became more exact in *operationalising* its *definitions*, in testing hypotheses, etc. Surveys using questionnaires and statistics were applied to investigate divorces, workers on mines and migrant labourers in towns etc. These changes were increasingly in line with the development of applied anthropology as a new and dominant trend internationally.

Applied anthropology began in the United States in the context of the struggle to pacify and conquere Native American (*Indian*). Anthropology was increasingly used for policy recommendations for action on an international scale, including Africa. Studies of *morale* and *vulnerabilities* in the sense of *points* at which a people's confidence may break, were particularly featured in *applied* anthropological studies of both friendly and enemy courtries carried out by the United States and her allies during World War II. A well known example is Ruth Benedict who during that period analysed the dominant features of several cultures having military significance, and later on was directing extensive studies financed heavily by the Office of Naval Research, *USA*. Crosscultural studies centering, for example, at the University of Yale with its human Resources Area Files were created for effective data gathering and computerisation from all over the world for strategic purposes. Similar studies were (and are) being financed and carried out by intelligence and administrative agencies, culminating in the present use of Skinnerian behaviouristic conditioning used by the CIA for *mind control*.

D. Post-Colonial Period

International Division of Labour in Research

The developments during the post-World War II period outlined briefly above were a part of the growing internationalisation of capitalist relations. The internationalisation of research in the social as well as the neutral/physical sciences is one aspect of the overall internationalisation of capital and of labour. International capitalist agencies like the World Bank and *UNESCO*, private foundations, and national state institutions like A.I.D. devote great sums of money to finance research conducted in Third World countries by national and international experts, and they also maintain their own researchers. National research institutions of Africa are highly dependent on international funding and staffing. Large scale research institutions created by foundations and international and national agencies include the International Development Research Centre (*IDRC*) in Ottawa and the Swedish Agency for Research and Economic Cooperation in Developing Countries (*SAREC*). Smaller scale institutions include CODESRIA in Dakar, responsible for the coordination of social science research in Africa. As nation states become more wary of American and British institutions, for example, the institutions of so-called *friendly* countries like Sweden appear more attractive and *neutral* if not sympathetic. The degree to which such institutions are infiltrated and dominated by international capital is not understood or else is ignored. Moreover, international and national finance and other institutions are increasingly following the lead of the World Bank with respect to broad policy goals and measures of implementation. Paper 1 has already remarked on the Basic Needs and Integrated Rural Development Approach to Development which is being promoted by the World Bank as the alternative to socialism. An examination of the policy outlines for other agencies would reveal an identical conceptualisation of development, and of the kind and manner of social science research needed to reinforce such development.

The Influence of Nationalism

Nationalist ideology which became the dominant ideology with the establishment of post-colonial states has necessitated a different set of tactics for capital. Whereas before, international agencies along with colonial governments sent their own experts to engage in policy-oriented research (such as anthropology sponsored by the colonial office and the evaluation programmes like the Phelps-Stokes Commission on Education in the 1920's), now it is necessary to train nationals to do their own research. The mushrooming of high-level scholarship programmes for doctorate and post-doctorate studies in social science research side by side with small short-course programmes in *evaluation* and *project appraisal* research, and the actual funding of research programmes on an institutional and individual basis must be seen in that context.

An international division of labour is emerging, whereby *Third World* researchers are trained to be technicians. They are handed over a package of techniques to use, and are not introduced to the problem of theory construction within either bourgeois methodologies or historical materialism. For example, *IDRC* (1976: 11) noted the following "*deficiencies in research capacity in the field of education;*" "*managerial skills, data-collection skills, instrument-design skills, data-processing skills, analytical skills, substantive area skills and communication skills.*" The same report goes on to identify that "The need is to clearly determine the requirements and the best kind of training, and whether short non-degree or on-the-job training programmes satisfy these needs." Cousrework in social science research commonly taught at African universities is equally technicist. At the same time, African and other researchers with a solid theoretical background, capable of substantive research are employed by international and state agencies to conduct research in Africa and elsewhere. Together with the University group, an international hierarchical network of social science researchers and technicians is thus created to reproduce the kind of knowledge which is useful and non-threatening for capital.

Hence, if it is true that private foundations and state/international agencies promote bourgeois problematics in research, it is also true of national research councils and government research sections, university research committees and coursework. The technicist nature of social science research is accompanied by growing demands for specialisation and certification. Hence, only suitably trained people are assumed capable of doing research, excluding in this way peasants, workers, as well as many categories of professional and state employees like school teachers.

Policy-Oriented Applied Research (*POAR*)

The social science researcher in Africa today is usually found working either in a national university or else in a government ministry. The demands for *applied* practical research are most dominant in government research departments, although universities are increasingly subjected to similar demands. The usual argument is that, given conditions of *underdevelopment*, with very scarce financial resources geared to research, that research must have some practical input into the running of the government and/or the operation of the productive sector. Policy-oriented research of this nature tends to be pragmatic, limited by the more immediate, short-term problems which the government faces. It is also expected to be conducted within a short span of time, on an *on-command* basis, written in non-technical language so that the government bureaucrat can understand it, and it should not "violate the particular political constraints which are placed upon the policy-maker" (*Levin 1978, p. 160; See the IDRC 1976 report as well*).

On the other hand, universities have historically demanded research to be reported on in a scholastic form, and have rewarded work which is published in overseas journals and publishing companies. Funding agencies also recognise work oriented in a similar scholastic direction. Governments, however, criticise university researchers for being *bookish, abstract,* isolated in ivory towers, and have challenged them to deal with *real life* problems. To do so is to conform to the conditions of policy-oriented research pointed out above, and to write brief research reports which presumably have little *pay-off* for academics.

The potential contradiction between the neo-positivist research approach dominant in African universities and the pragmatism demanded of policy-oriented applied research (*POAR*) is increasingly resolved in favour of the latter. This is not only due to state demands but also due to the pressure from international agencies, who now demand *relevant* research proposals which are vetted first by national state machinery to ensure their acceptability and conformity to state policy. Moreover, the growing number of consultancy contracts made between international agencies and individual national researchers, where the latter are paid to do research/evaluation/project appraisal work formerly done by international experts, provides an alternate and highly lucrative route. In one sense, it is also illustrative of the cheapening of the price of labour power, in that the national experts are paid much less than international ones. To the national expert, however, the contract is a *boom*. Hence, international funding supports the growing shift of research towards POAR.

Criticisms of neo-positivist research as being abstract, fit only to gather dust in university libraries, written in technical language which *the people* could not understand, should be placed in the context of the above developments. To the extent that the criticism is valid, its resolution has become problematic. *POAR* is one more step removed from being able to penetrate underlying reality, and even more directly contributes to the reproduction of the conditions of existence of imperialist exploitation.

Why is this so? By definition *POAR* is not concerned about fundamental issues and instead poses questions concerning the efficiency of stated means in achieving certain objectives. The social relations underlying the *systems* and institutions being evaluated or researched are not investigated, nor the overall structure and dynamic of these systems/institutions. These are taken as given, and instead the evaluator/researcher examines to what extent the objectives have been achieved, using quantitative measures which fit into mathematical models like regression equations (i.e. *production functions*). Pseudo-scientific procedures are backed up by an insistence on the neutrality and objectivity of the evaluation which is vital to maintain credibility with the *policy-makers*. As Curry (1977; see also Raikes, 1974) has shown in his critique of project appraisal techniques in economics, the choice of certain variables as opposed to others and of certain measurement and statistical techniques leads to predictable outcomes. This is clearly revealed in the use of the production function and its accompanying measures for research on schooling efficiency. For example, the use of continuous linear scales to measure differentiated incomes instead of identifying social class backgrounds distorts the issue of class in schooling and necessarily lowers the *significance* of *socio-economic backgrounds* in predicting school performance. The basic assumptions upon which such mathematical models are used are not met by such data in any case: e.g. the independence of the different *independent* variables and their linearity itself.

At another level of analysis such procedures have an ideological function of reproducing the dominant social relations. The measurement devices function this way, as noted above. For example, most rate-of-return analyses of education are based on the use of lifetime earnings as the dependent variable, i.e. the criteria to measure the efficiency of the schooling system. Not only are social and individual costs and benefits thereby confused, but the underlying social relations which produce income differentiation are mystified and taken as given.

What is most important however is the position which *POAR* takes vis-a-vis the state and capital. *POAR* is oriented to the policy maker, i.e. the state. It is assumed that if the policy makers are given correct information, i.e. knowledge about a problem, this will lead to policy changes and/or policy correction and this will lead to social improvement. Underlying such assumptions is the belief that (1) the problem is due to lack of knowledge; (2) change is possible within the present context, under the present conditions. Hence the researcher merely needs to provide the necessary knowledge and transmit it to the policy makers in order to effect change. These assumptions delude the researcher into a false illusion of power, and also falsify reality for any other participants in the research process, namely the researched themselves (Bowles 1977 provided much of the material for this section on POAR; see Mbilinyi 1979 for further discussion of the use of the production function in education; examples of concrete variables used in such studies are provided in IDRC 1976 Appendix C).

Conditions of the production of knowledge in Africa are going to be increasingly determined by the alliance between the state and international and other funding agencies. To what extent this is so is illuminated by the following:

> "There are many areas in education where both research and experimentation have been carried on for many years. *Before recommending additional investment* either for further research or action programmes, it would seem important to learn what we can from available information. For this to be done systematically, we would recommend some form of *research coordination.* This would ensure that donor agencies and developing countries/sic!/have access to information about significant past and current research related to education in the developing countries.
>
> A principal implication of this initial process of *identifying key issues* that require further research is that the process should be a continuous one. Consideration should be given to creating a means whereby the efforts in the field of education research could be continuously guided by an ongoing assessment of past and present activities and given an indication of important areas for further research. Such a process would serve the interests of the developing countries, the donor agencies, researchers, planners and decision makers in promoting more effective policy research" (IDRC 1976: 12, *our emphasis).*

On the one hand, the growing importance of such research institutions illustrates the tendency towards centralisation and concentration in research which is typical of capitalist industry in general. On the other hand, this tendency contributes to greater social control over who does research, what kinds of problems are investigated, what kinds of methods of investigation are employed, and what methods of reproduction of the knowledge and its distribution will be followed. The role of international capital in financing research and actively participating through its agents limits genuine attempts of individuals in the state machinery as well as in other institutions to struggle against POAR and the dominant mainstream of neo-positivism and pragmatism. The question of ongoing struggles in social science research is explored in the next section of this paper, and it is also discussed in detail in discussion Paper 4.

III. Struggles over the Production and Reproduction of Knowledge

The development of social science research in Africa has been conditioned by the development of capitalism, as the preceding sections have illuminated. These developments occur in conjunction with specific class struggles. These class struggles occur not only in material production but also in the realm of ideology, i.e. the production and reproduction of knowledge. It is essential for us to situate struggles against neo-positivism and *POAR*/pragmatism in the wider context of social class struggles and the concrete historical material conditions which underlie them. Only in this way can we correctly identify the kind of social science research methodology which is potentially liberating for the working class and its peasant and petty bourgeois allies.

International capital and the nation-states are faced with heightened struggles of peasants and workers to better their lives, in a changed international context. Imperialism is on the defensive. There have been numerous socialist victories in old Indochina and in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and in Cuba not long ago. The national liberation struggles in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are gaining momentum. Africa is the last trench for capital, and capital is going to dig in to protect its interests in minerals, agriculture and the tremendous potential industrial reserve army on the continent. The struggle over Africa is a political one, the struggle over the dominance of capitalist as opposed to socialist relations of production.

Thus far the process of capital accumulation has been primarily geared towards the extractive industries, with much of the profit funneled outside. As noted earlier, capital has also moved into agriculture, thereby forcing increasing numbers of peasants off the land directly through expropriation or indirectly. Peasants are unable to compete with the high levels of productivity of capitalist agriculture, and the consequent lower prices and regularity and consistency of output. Inroads are now being made in traditional subsistence goods like maize and rice, as well as industrial cash crops like tobacco and plantation crops like pineapples. In areas where such inroads have not yet occured, peasants are still forced to intensify their labour input in order to produce adequately for subsistence needs. This is partly because of the growing importance of cash commodity goods for basic subsistence, which in turn forces the peasant to produce for the market as well as for direct family consumption. There are limits to how much a peasant family can intensify its labour and the use of the means of production at its disposal, like land and cattle. Once those limits are reached, an ever lower subsistence level is experienced, thus contributing to high child mortality rates, chronic malnutrition for adults as well as children, etc.

Peasants usually lack a clear understanding of the underlying causes of such phenomena. Hence, they perceive one solution to be the acquisition of more education in order to acquire wage labour. Obtaining a wage is not solely a matter of escaping the drudgery and unattractive material conditions in which most peasants live. It is more a matter of survival, a life and death struggle, and therefore must be seen within the context of the primitive accumulation process described above.

Peasants and workers are now demanding secure conditions of wage labour; more social services like schools and medical care; more basic subsistence needs like water and good housing. The gap between the petty bourgeoisie and their former villagemates is starkly visible and no longer a matter of *them Europeans* and *us Africans*. Moreover, even the limited proletarianisation which has occured in most African countries has led to greater class consciousness within the ranks of the working class, and correspondingly more repression from the nation-states, which necessarily leads to more resistance of different kinds from the working class, and so on.

The conditions of exploitation have therefore changed for capital in the 1970's, requiring new forms of organisation and reproduction of labour. The euphoria immediately following independence has waned, as the realities of imperialist economic domination have become ever more salient. The ideologies of radical structuralism have arisen in this context, as have demands for a *New International Economic Order* (see Discussion Paper 1). The international and national agencies and foundations are now promoting policy programmes in consonance with national demands, identified already as the rural development and basic needs strategies of development. Basic education reform represents another ideological level of the struggle.

Experimental World Literacy Programme

The evaluation of Unesco's Experimental World Literacy Programme (EWLP) is a typical example that illustrates both neopositivism and Policy-oriented Applied Research on the one hand, and the politics of social research and education reform in Africa, on the other. EWLP's concept of functional literacy consisted of an attempt to combine literacy skills directly with the occupational needs of participants (i.e., an integration of literacy and socio-economic development).

Let us examine the basic assumptions on which *EWLP* was founded. The whole programme was guided by the orthodox bourgeois economic theory of development outlined in Discussion Paper 1. It reflected the then prevalent view in United Nations and Western academic circles that development was first and foremost a question of economic growth with its attendant capital-intensive inputs and high-level technical skills. This view on economic growth without political and social change is well summarised by UNESCO's own critique of its *EWLP*:

> "If development is mainly economic growth, as was widely accepted at the time *EWLP* was launched, then rather narrowly work-oriented literacy is its functional partner. This relationship assumes in turn that under-development is a mainly quantitative problem (insufficient *GNP*) requiring a mainly quantitative solution (economic growth). Intimately linked with this quantitative approach was—and still is, in many quarters—the assumption that insufficient GNP was due basically to a lack of technology and that economic growth would be achieved primarily through dissemination of technology. The following shortcut syllogism therefore

> underlay the First Development Decade: development is economic growth; economic growth is a technical process; therefore development is technical" (Unesco 1976: 122).

In most *EWLP* countries, the multidimensional social, cultural and political changes were ignored and glossed over in favour of economic *growth*. Consequently, the *EWLP* was conceived and designed as "an overwhelmingly technical solution to problems that are only partly technical" (*Unesco* 1976 : 122).

The research and evaluation component of *EWLP* and the great importance it was accorded is a typical example of the international aid package for educational projects in developing countries. The predominantly summative evaluation of *EWLP* focussed its attention on measuring the economic impact of literacy on development. The evaluation was also designed to obtain and present scientific data that could facilitate international comparability. In an attempt to produce evidence to justify the assumed worth of functional literacy in development, evaluation directives were formulated centrally. Partly as a result of *EWLP's* concern for eliciting evaluation results that could be internationally comparable, the evaluation was excessively quantitative in design, involving elaborate statistical analysis, including statistical tests of significance. Other relevant and qualitative data were ignored. To quote the Unesco assessment report, "Single-minded pre-occupation with ever more sophisticated quantification at least sometimes blinded *EWLP* evaluators to simple truths that were in plain view" (*Unesco* 1976 : 152).

The economic impact of functional literacy was evaluated by devising a long list of indicators for testing and measuring changes in the new literates' behaviour. The changes were measured with the help of instruments such as interview schedules, observation checklists and the like, and the information obtained was statistically analysed. In some countries, the evaluation design was based on the use of control and experimental groups.

The various indicators of change were grouped under three main behavioural categories : insertion into the milieu, mastery of the milieu, and transformation of the milieu. The change area of *insertion into the milieu* consisted of indicators designed to measure changes in individual behaviours of the new literates such as interest in further education, management of personal finances, exposure to mass media, the seeking out of technical advice, use of *3R's* and participation in formal organisations. These indicators raise a fundamental question, namely, into what milieu is the illiterate to be inserted? Without going into too much detail, it is evident as the Unesco assessment report admits that the milieu into which the new literates are inserted is defined by the values of a society in the process of *modernisation* and *development*. This process of modernisation and development was modelled on the advanced capitalist nations. The *EWLP* was primarily concerned with *inserting* or adapting the new literate to capitalist social relations rather than raising his critical awareness of his role and position in society.

New literates' *mastery of the milieu* was the second desired area of behavioural changes anticipated and evaluated by the *EWLP*. The indicators of change examined under this area of socio-economic changes were behaviour at work, knowledge of modern technical practices, adoption of such practices, and conservation and reproduction of the labour force. Again, as in the previous area of behavioural change, *mastery of the milieu* was of a rather narrow technical and economic kind, adaptive to capitalist relations. The Unesco self-critical report raises the following legitimate questions on this kind of mastery of the milieu : "To what extent has the new literate become dependent on which external socio-economic processes and forces? Has literacy enabled the new literate to know and understand these processes and forces? To come to grips with them? To have a voice in controlling them?"

The third broad class of socio-economic effects examined by the EWLP evaluators was categorised under the heading of *transformation of the milieu*, which included the measurement of such indicators as means of production, the volume of production, cash income, income in kind and consumption of durable goods. This list of indicators reveals a conspicuous omission of the social, political, and cultural transformation of the milieu. And, needless to say, these indicators were stamped by the values, standards and cherised development model of the evaluators and planners. To quote the *Unesco* self-critique again, "The use of *consumption of durable goods* as a criterion of *transformation of the milieu* was, to say the least, a curious projection on to the poor nations of a consumer-oriented system peculiar to certain highly industrialised societies". Unbeknown to the *UNESCO* organisers, the indicators relating to means of production, the volume of production and adoption of modern technical practices in agriculture actually express the degree of penetration of peasant production by capitalist social relations!

World Bank Research Project-Egypt 1978/79

In spite of the lessons learned from the *UNESCO/UNDP* literacy project, the World Bank has started a major evaluation project using the same techniques of applied research. The project has as its objective the establishment of a threshold level of schooling, beyond which school leavers will not relapse into illiteracy. The Bank thinks this level can be ascertained by examining what happens to literacy and numeracy retention in groups of 3rd to 6th grade primary school leavers who have been out of school for differing lengths of time.

The respondents in the project will be randomly selected from the above groups. Data pertaining to the variables to be used will be gathered through a cross-sectional survey using interview schedules like check lists, etc. The technicist nature of the World Bank project is revealed in the instrumentation which is used and the decision to use a cross-sectional approach rather than longitudinal approach. A cross sectional study is said to be low cost and more easily implementable. The politics of administration and organisation of applied research is also illustrated by the composition of the team of principal investigators and the advisor to the project. Of the six principal investigators, just two are Egyptians. The rest are high standing World Bank officials with the required expertise and research experience. None of the five advisors comes from Egypt.

Mass Basic Education

The Experimental World Literacy Project was a forerunner to the current promotion of mass basic education identified with the *minimum essential learning needs* (Coombs et al 1973 : 14).

The concept of *minimal* is associated with the concept of *terminal* education—the minimal number of skills that everyone ought to have—a few will, of course, get something different, something more. It is also argued that the amount of resources necessary to achieve such objectives is less than normally found in the school system. Basic education reform questions the need for qualified teachers, permanent school buildings, well-stocked school equipment and teaching materials—including textbooks for teachers and students. The scaling down of resource allocation to mass education is justified by the results of the production function of research discussed on discussion above.

As peasants are increasingly unable to subsist with the means of production at their disposal, they increasingly turn to education as a means of acquiring wage labour. Basic education reform struggles:

(1) to redirect such behaviour, to scale down the demands and expectations of peasants.

(2) to restructure, reshape the labour force in order to participate in particular kinds of production.

(3) to educate with greater efficiency, systematisation and rationalisation. Education *evaluation* is one kind of *POAR* being resorted to in order to measure and foster efficiency in education.

New Developments in Qualitative Research

The conditions under which capital operates in Africa today also necessitates *new approaches in research methodology*. Quantitative survey approaches have been relatively unsuccessful in getting basic information about the peasants and workers in general, and specifically the different national liberation and other political organisations identified with the interests of these producer classes. Foundations and other agencies are increasingly interested in funding qualitative research approaches which allow the researcher the camaflouge of participation. Participant observation has reasserted itself in the service of capital and the state.

An example is the recent Workshop on the "Role of Anthropology in the Agency for International Development" held in Washington D.C. on May 27, 1977. Participant observation is now called *Social Soundness Analysis*:

> "Three major points emerged, all relating to Social Soundness Analysis (*SSA*): *SSA* should be integrated into all stages of development of a project, since a major weakness of past efforts was that SSA was introduced too late to be effective; SSA should be incorporated into the Development Assistance Program document assessing development prospects for a country, region and/or sector; and more fulltime persons capable of making *SSA*'s must be employed by A.I.D. at all levels" (AID 1978: 36).

The use of *SSA* is then directly related to a reconceptualisation of problems of development which is clearly a response to the radical structuralist analysis of *underdevelopment* and the historical materialist analysis of capitalism:

> "In the past, many people responsible for shaping development assistance assumed that low income non-western peoples' productive practices are governed by tradition and that their economic behaviour is non-rational or significantly less rational than that of 'modern man.' They believed that traditional societies are static and that development required the destruction of constraining institutions. Today development practitioners recognize that traditional production systems are usually well adjusted to local conditions and their fluctuations and that traditional producers make conscious and recurrent decisions about the use of productive assets, the organization of labor, marketing, savings and investment. In short, existing institutions persist because they meet real needs, and new organizational forms will be accepted only if they meet these needs more effectively. *Essential information about the social environment and its relevance for development can be obtained through social analysis by trained experienced social scientists* (AID 1978: 36, abstract of McPherson 1978).

There are a total of twenty-four research projects funded by AID in Africa, nine under *economics*, three *education* five *health and population*, five *social sciences* (read *political science*) and two *urban development*. Of these twenty-four, ten are situated in

Zimbabwe and eight in Namibia : a total of 75% situated in two of the areas of chief concern to American Capital today. The economic projects in Zimbabwe (7 out of 9) are investigating transport-communications, electric energy resources, *manufacturing* and *UDI*, mining *the effectiveness of economic sanctions against Rhodesia* and economic *prospects*. The social sciences is directed towards *politics*—e.g. Research No. 283 is *politic's in Namibia*.

The saliency of radical structuralist concepts of development is illuminated in the descriptions of the research projects. For example, the analysis of manpower needs for Namibia (257) notes:

> "The manpower problems facing Namibia in the transition to majority rule are primarily the result of colonization, the ideology of *apartheid* and *underdevelopment* as it pertains to the concept of *LDCs*. All three of these phenomena have affected the development of educational processes and the resulting manpower training efforts. The present assessment of human resource requirements will also have to respond to two widely different possible situations : a negotiated settlement for Namibia, as a whole, and a partitioned Namibia in which the area of concern would be the northern segment, consisting of Ovamboland, much of Damaraland and the Caprivi Strip...In the situation of a negotiated settlement for Namibia as a whole, the opportunities for U.S. technical assistance would be far greater than if guerilla war-fare continued or civil war broke out...If Namibia is partitioned, the U.S. will be forced to choose sides and very little programmatic involvement can be envisaged" (AID 1978: 30.

These are the conditions out of which and in which the Participatory Research Approach (*PRA*) is developing. The dominant tendency in PRA has its roots in Policy-Oriented Applied Research, and acts to penetrate and infiltrate the absolute poor. By meeting the political requirements of greater democratic participation, *PRA* becomes an ideological smoke screen which mystifies the nature of underlying contradictions and struggles. Discussion Paper 3 explores this development of pragmatic PRA in detail.

There is another development in PRA which seeks to ally with peasants and workers to investigate reality in order to (1) create new knowledge within historical materialist methodology and (2) activate the producer classes towards the struggles ahead against capitalism and for socialism. This development is branded by "the mainstream" as being too theoretical and/or too political and "unscientific." The future direction of this struggle emerging within PRA is explored in Discussion Paper 4. Astuteness is clearly required in evaluating any research methodology. It is necessary to examine not only stated intentions and methods but also objective consequences in terms of the interests of the working class and the peasants in Africa.

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Discussant Response to Paper 2

Leo van den Berg

This second paper brings us somewhat further in understanding the context in which Participatory Research takes place. Participatory Research has its roots in both the bourgeois methodologies (as an offspring of Policy-Oriented Applied Research) and in historical materialism (as an attempt by academicians *to ally with peasants and workers*, p. 35). As the former is the more powerful in terms of funding and academic prestige, the Participatory Research approach continues to be guided mainly by pragmatic demands of policy-makers.

Although broadly speaking I tend to agree with the analysis presented by the authors there are a number of points that need clarification. In the first place one could argue that the authors exaggerate when they state that the methodology *determines the very questions which are posed* (p. 2) and presumably those that are *not* posed as well. A strong influence cannot be denied but a deterministic viewpoint goes too far. As the choice of methodology is indeed very important one should take care in formulating the questions and issues to be investigated as clearly as possible *before* a particular methodology is opted for. The most appropriate methodology could then be chosen on the basis of the questions that one wants to answer.

Secondly, in their first sentence the authors promise to "critically examine various research methodologies" but this promise is not kept. In the paper the term *methodology* is used in too many different ways: from almost equivalent to philosophies to a bundle of research techniques. And when one then reads that techniques associated with bourgeois methodologies can be employed within historical materialism and vice versa the reader gets lost. At this point a systematic examination of methodologies is indeed badly needed, but was it too ambitious to achieve in the context of this much broader paper? As a result the reader is presented with a number of labels (idealist vs. materialist, descriptive, superficial, emphasizing social harmony, etc.) without being told what is behind these and what the differences are between methodologies, philosophies and theories.

A third area of unclarity is in the section on *Conditions of Production of Knowledge*. Here the authors deal exclusively with the conditions prevailing in Western societies and the areas under their influence, in other words those conditions where research becomes subordinated to the interests of capital. This leads to perpetuation of bourgeois methodologies in research institutes and the use of increasingly capital-intensive techniques. Okay, but what about socialist countries? Don't we also find a proliferation of *applies research* there, for instance in worker motivation? A look at the learned journals of Eastern Europe shows just as much *P.O.A.R.*, quantification and computerization there as found in the West. The (*relatively minor*) difference would be that there it is not capital's quest for profits that is served but the managerial class quest for impressive production figures and efficiency in general. In other words, contrary to what is said on page 7, *applied research* can serve any kind of interest not only that of *capital*.

Turning to the section on research methodologies in Africa the authors must be congratulated for choosing the discipline of anthropology as a case study. Not only has anthropology all along been in a very delicate position between (*colonial and other*) administrators, academic objectives and the local communities researched upon, but also is its characteristic technique (or *methodology*?) of participant observation sufficiently close to the *P.R.A.* discussed at this workshop to warrant a critical analysis. The analysis chosen is historical but when it comes to the post-colonial period the paper drifts away from anthropology while so many interesting examples of recent anthropological research could have been given. Only towards the end of the paper some suspect form of anthropological study proposed for Africa (*social soundness analysis* is attached leaving other recent approaches in the discipline untouched.

Under the heading *Postcolonial Period* the authors analyse the tendencies towards a hierarchy in the international division of labour in research. They point out that by seeking acceptance in the international academic community, African academics enstrange themselves from the underlying realities in their own countries: they try and employ sophisticated techniques of data gathering and processing and in an alliance with outside funding and consulting agencies tend to monopolize research, out of the hands of the peasants and workers who are deemed incompetent to analyse their own situation. Policy-Oriented Applied Research is used to illustrate this point, but judging from discussion-papers at, for instance, the University of Dar es Salaam, students following a historical materialist approach are not free from tendencies towards academic elitism and scholastic perfectionism either!

This brings us back to the participatory research approach: it aims at narrowing the gap between researchers and those researched upon. However, the authors emphasize correctly that within such a broad aim there could be quite diverse objectives. One extreme is just to meet the political requirements of democratic participation, a gesture to the electorate. The word *smoke screen* is used. The other is the activist one: through the creation of new knowledge, largely by themselves, within a historical materialist methodology, the producer classes could become more effective in their struggle against exploitation. But let us not be naive: research on its own just produces new knowledge, whatever its methodology, and how this knowledge is used and by whom is outside the scope of research. It is here that the researcher gets involved in politics, even if he keeps quiet, and her or she better be aware of that.

Discussion Paper 3

The Methodology of the Participatory Research Approach

Deborah Bryceson, Linzi Manicom and Yusuf Kassam

This paper aims at critically examining the participatory research approach (*PRA*). The paper is divided into five main sections; the first two sections explain the context in which the *PRA* developed. The third section looks at what the *PRA* is purported to be and its different political expressions. The fourth section argues for the primacy of methodology in both understanding and evaluating the *PRA*, while the fifth section concludes by posing issues regarding the future of the *PRA* in its inevitable institutionalization both professionally in the social sciences and politically with respect to development efforts in the Third World. This paper is intended as a basis for discussion about the *PRA*. It represents a compendium which is by no means exhaustive on the topic or claiming to be the '*final word*'. We ask for constructive and if necessary destructive criticism of our ideas.

I. The Social Context in which the PRA Developed

The *PRA* arose in the context of thorough-going questioning within the field of social research. Such issues as the relationship between the means and ends of social research, the relationship between researcher (whether individual or institution) and the researched, neutrality and objectivity, were re-problematized in the light of a critical reflection on methodological and epistemological questions.

Importantly, this questioning of the precepts of social research was an expression and development of the popular struggles in the advanced capitalist countries. These struggles were posited against the *establishment*, the *'post industrial'* society, and the streamlined bureaucracy of the computer age. The dominant ideological response of humanism assumed an individualized, rather than social form. The articulated goals were the *realisation of self*, the quest for the free human essence, and the subversion of the corporate machine through the reinsertion of the *human being*. This tendency was translated into social research methodologies and techniques where the researcher was encouraged, not to contain, but to employ his/her subjective human attributes in order to extend his/her understanding of the people under study. The *action* component of social research rested on the belief that a recognition of the elements and facets of domination in social life on the part of individual subjects would release them from their conditioned acquiescence. This process on a social scale would bring about liberation. The researcher's role was therefore to *actively* promote an intersubjective context conducive to this actualisation of people's inner selves, in other words, to unlock the door to the inherent human thrust for an undefined *freedom*.

In Third World countries, the glaring contradiction between, on the one hand, the super sophisticated, politically sterilised, technicist social research practice and the persistent poverty and entrenched *underdevelopment* on the other, threw the issues of social research into even starker political relief. Questions about the objectives of social research, the researcher-researched relationship, were necessarily posed in the light of basic development goals increased food production, mass literacy etc. Furthermore, these goals were set against the background of escalating anti-imperialist struggles and strengthening capitalist penetration. The Answers were equally couched in humanist ideology, but a humanism with a distinctly social focus, that looked to *the people*, the *nation*, the *oppressed* as its subject. Social research in this context, it was recognised, had to be directed towards development, and some went on to say, towards liberation—where development and liberation as concepts with unspecified content were generally seen as synonymous. The social researcher became a selfconscious actor and participant in the process of development and liberation. The PRA took roots in this broad context.

II. The Professional Context in which the PRA Developed

The PRA developed within the frame of a *qualitative approach* to social research. The *qualitative approach* represented a reaction to the *quantitative approach* which was charged with reducing human beings to scores on socio-economic indices to facilitate computer tabulation. The *qualitative approach* was advanced in an attempt to study human beings multi-dimensionally. The qualitative data gathering techniques tended not to be structured on interviews of large numbers of people. Large sample size and statistical significance were sacrificed. Instead in depth/to understand the full ramifications of what they did, said and thought and the social systems they evolved.

But the question remains, to what extent did the *qualitative approach* overcome the legacy of the *quantitative approach*? This can be examined with respect to *participant observation*, the qualitative social research technique that was in fact the fore-runner of the PRA. Participant observation (which is described in more detail in Discussion Paper 2) was described by Freilich (1970) as:

> "An important data-gathering technique in active research, since it;
>
> 1. maintains and/or increases the anthropologist's rapport;
> 2. provides checks on data collected in other ways;
> 3. provides novel data not otherwise collectable; and
> 4. helps to isolate and to type key informants".
>
> (*Freilich 1970 : 567*)

Described as such, clearly participant observation was merely a more effective means of data collection still bound up with the positivist methodology which held *objectivity* as the primary requisite of social research. *Objectivity* thus referred to an attitude of scrupulous non-partisanship on the part of the social researcher on the one hand, and the subjecting of qualitatively collected data to rigorous verificational processes on the other. The latter implied the separation of the data-gathering process (*the context of discovery*) from, not only the policy-making process (*the context of social action*) but also from the context of validation. In other words, once data had been qualitatively gathered, it could be subjected to verificational techniques and serve as the basis of policy-making without further recourse to the concrete situation in which the research had taken place and to which it referred.

What then, it must be asked, is the specificity of the *PRA*? What distinguished the *PRA* from other techniques of the *qualitative approach*, particularly participant observation?

III. The Participatory Research Approach

The PRA succeeds to a far greater degree to break with the legacy of so-called *objective* social science. The participatory research approach is not purported to be a methodology but rather has been conceived by its advocates as an approach going beyond the boundaries of a mere data gathering technique. It must be pointed out immediately that the distinguishing features of the *PRA* can be designated only at a high level of generality. This, as will be shown, is due to the fact that a wide range of research practices and an equally wide range of political ideologies are embraced by the broad category, the *PRA*. However, it can be argued that the following broad features are integral to the *PRA* in all its expressions.

Firstly, subjective commitment on the part of the researcher to the people under study is essential. This implies a rejection of the possibility of *value-neutrality* and of the conception of the social researcher as a tool or technician. The researcher must have a sensitivity and democratic identification with the people, the *oppressed*.

Secondly, there is close involvement of the researcher with the researched community. The researcher is perceived as a commited, participatory social actor, who must seek to combine his critical insight and knowledge with the understanding and resources of the local people to trigger new awareness of contradictions facing them. The concept of *dialogue* between the researcher and the community is emphasised as a reaction to the manipulativeness of positivist social research, the over-simplification of social reality through the use of conventional research methodologies such as the survey approach and the alienating, dominating and oppressive character of such methodologies.

Thirdly, the approach is problem-centred. Research is perceived not as mere data-gathering, the result of which can be acted upon by others, the policy-makers. Rather the objective of social research is to understand the conditions underlying a problem in order to resolve the problem by transforming those conditions (be they perceived as social, political or social-psychological).

Fourthly, the Participatory Research Approach is conceived as an educational process for both the researchers as well as for the people with whom the research is conducted. The close and active interaction between the researchers and the people through dialogue and discussion, is ultimately aimed at action towards the solution of social contradictions.

Fifthly, the Participatory Research Approach stipulates respect for the people's own capability and potential to produce knowledge and analyse it. Knowledge creation as being the monopoly of the professional researchers alone, as commonly practised by conventional researchers, is challenged by the *PRA*.

In short, the *PRA* has been described as a three-pronged activity: an approach to social investigation with the full and active participation of the community in the *entire* research process; a means of taking action for development; and an educational process of mobilization for development, all of which are closely interwoven with each other.

There are actually several different versions of the *PRA* differing in the degree to which they imply or advocate the researcher's political activism amongst the local people. A few examples will be cited below.

Freire (1972 and 1974) was the first to popularize the *PRA* on an international scale. His version of the PRA which he refers to as *conscientization* is conceived as a strategy in the liberation of oppressed peoples. He refers to those employing the strategy as revolutionaries rather than researchers. These revolutionaries in union with the local people engage in cultural action in opposition to a dominating power and/or cultural revolution under a revolutionary regime. The revolutionaries' political activism is conceived as democratic in form but guiding:

> The fundamental role of those committed to cultural action for conscientization is not properly speaking to fabricate the liberating ideas, but to invite the people to grasp with their minds the truth of their reality (*Freire 1974:76*).

De Oliveira and de Oliveira (1975) present another version of the PRA known as *militant observation.* The technique of dialogue central to Freire's conscientization is supplemented with more traditional data collection in the vein of participant observation. Reference is to the researcher not the revolutionary, however the context of the research process is depicted as revolutionary. The researcher's role is to actively politicize in a more pedagogic fashion:

> the process of political education......is at the heart of the process of militant observation (*De Oliveira and de Oliveira 1975:4*)

Stavenhagen (1971) wrote about *activist observation* which he describes as:

> the true synthesis between research on, and participation in the social change process, not—as is so often the case—from the vantage point of the administrator, the outside manipulator or the transitory participating visitor (a common breed of applied anthropologist); but rather at the level of the political organizer, the social agitator (in the noblest expression of the much maligned term), or the *fish in the water* (to use a relevant Chinese metaphor). Thus action and research would be joined both in the interests of furthering knowledge and of contributing to change (*Stavenhagen 1971:339*).

Stavenhagen argues for social change reformist or revolutionary depending on the context. He affirms his approach is compatible even with research under the auspices of organizations firmly a part of the international capitalist system:

> Of course, international aid programs are a far cry from social revolution, and if taken in isolation their efforts will be minute; but then the role of applied social scientist, as I see it, is to act to the best of his ability in terms of his personal ethical commitments, within the institutional framework that he has chosen as his field of action (*Stavenhagen 1971:341*).

Other versions of the PRA delimit the process of politicization. Rockhill's (n.d.) notion of *qualitative research* is effused with a complacency for the status quo. In this case political activism is irrelevant and hence ignored. Qualitative research conceived in entirely humanistic terms is aimed at "promoting individual and social capabilities" (*Rockhill n.d.:1*).

Swantz (1977) defines the boundaries of the researcher's activism as:

> Today the task is to bring these people (poor, middle peasants and Government servants and politicians) into communication with one another within the present political structures and to use first their given rights to demand more say and become more aware of their situation. The people can be made conscious of the existing exploitative practices of self-interested chairmen, petty traders or Government leaders. But this can be done within the framework of Tanzanian socialist practice and it does not at this point of historical development require a class war, in which energy would be spent in dividing instead of building up unity within the existing political structure in rural areas (*Swantz 1977:16*).

Kassam's (1979) *anthropocentric approach* synthesizes humanism with national development goals. The researcher's political activism becomes defined by national objectives. This is exemplified in his study of literacy evaluation:

> By using an anthropocentric approach, this little study is primarily designed to capture at least a part of that excitement of the Tanzanian literacy campaign by illuminating its impact on the most personal and qualitative aspects of people's development, a campaign which constitutes one of

the most profoundly significant development endeavours in Tanzania (*Kassam 1979:1*).

These examples strikingly illustrate the enormous range of political activism that can be accomodated by participatory research's basic approach. The reason why this political spectrum is possible is because the approach is subjective, and idealist. It is explicitly subjective being dependant upon the individual researcher's political views, sensitivity, knowledge and insight. The PRA rarely stipulates what the researchers, frame of reference is or should be beyond recognizing that the people he/she is studying are oppressed or have unrealized capabilities and potential.[1] But within this stipulation implicitly resides the philosophy of idealism, which posits the humanness of the researcher as the basis for his/her identity with the oppressed, while the oppressed are viewed as having answers to their self-emancipation by virtue of being oppressed. In other words, oppression is morally romanticized. Furthermore, no criteria are offered for evaluation what constitutes oppression.[2]

Generally, advocates of the PRA acknowledge that the researcher will enter the field with pre-conceived ideas and expectations based on past experience, reading or even ignorance. As field work progresses his/her original ideas will be reinforced, altered or entirely rejected as a result of interaction with the people being studied. Never theorized and rarely even questioned are the class interests that the researcher objectively serves, and the false consciousness or ignorance of the oppressed who are blinded by ruling class ideologies or their own petty property interests, as in the case of the peasantry.

The PRA encourages entirely open-ended inter-subjectivity. What of course results is that the individual researcher's philosphical and theoretical biases with their attendant political implications become the basis for the incidental development of an ad-hoc methodology. The ad-hoc methodology develops as the product of the unconscious assimilation of eclectic and often contradictory ideas and value judgements, generally pregnant with dominant class interests which in turn are operationalized in an arbitrary and haphazard fashion.

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[1] Exceptions to the norm are to be found in papers such as Fals Borda (1977), which will be cited in Disscussion Paper No. 4.

[2] To concretize the above point, it would be thoroughly consistent with *PRA* tenets to adopt a humanist outlook that regarded executives of international capitalist finance suffering from mental stress, hypertension and stomach ulcers as 'oppressed.'

IV. Methodology

It is important to note that there are an array of methodologies that can be consciously adopted which in turn result in a variety of analyses and hence arrive at differing conclusions and problem solutions. Methodologies are identifiable with particular historical class outlooks. This section includes a brief examination of some of the more common eclectic premises of the ad-hoc methodology associated with the *PRA*. These premises will be traced to particular philosophical traditions.

A. Definitions

For clarification it is necessary to begin with some definitions of terms used with reference to research.

Research is activity aimed at gathering and analysing information for the production of new knowledge.

A *technique* is defined as a means of appropriating information, whereas an *approach* is defined as a mode of appropriating information.

A *methodology* is a much more comprehensive term. The means and mode of acquiring knowledge as well as the foundations of the researcher's perceptual and theoretical understanding are embodied in the term. The axis of any methodology is its conception of reality and causal effect which provides the foundation for the production and justification of new knowledge. The way a researcher relates to the people he is studying and the manner in which he gathers information and what he does with the information all follow from his particular conception of reality and causal effect. In other words, a methodology is the unity of a philosophy with a method of abstraction and a method of investigation.

A *theoretical framework* is both a product and an essential adjunct to the methodology. The theoretical framework is composed of explicit concepts used as a basis for gathering, ordering and analysis of information.

A *problematic* is the particular focus of analysis within the confines of the theoretical framework. The problematic arises from the area of study and the nature of contradictions found therein.

B. Eclectic premises of the PRA's ad-hoc methodology

Through specification of a researcher's methodology and theoretical framework the researcher transcends his subjectivity. The researcher's work can then be easily identified with particular class outlooks, philosophical traditions and political tendencies.

The *PRA* can be primarily traced to the philosophical tradition of pragmatism. However, *PRA*'s tendency towards eclectical absorption makes it vulnerable also to other often conflicting philosophies currently dominating the social sciences, especially idealism and empricism.

The philosophy of pragmatism first formulated by Dewey is sumarized by Oquist (1977: 10-17). The following brief description extracts the most salient points of Oquist's exposition.

Pragmatism posits knowledge as eventual rather than antecedent. Knowledge arises from human action. The production of knowledge is viewed as beginning with practical problems. The resolution of problems is guided by values. Values are defined as purposes guiding behaviour. Values are conceptualized as criteria for the judgement of external relations, which avoids the usual moral connotations involved when they are denoted as inner personal conditions. In the words of Dewey (1929: 247), a value statement is "a judgement as to the importance and need of bringing a fact into existence; or if it is already there, of sustaining it in existence."

Values are arrived at through affirmative judgement on conditions and results of experienced objects. Values are not regarded as certainties but rather as hypotheses of prospective questions. Ideas guide actions. Actions are undertaken to maximize desired values. As Oquist (1977: 14-15) explains:

> The only goal of knowledge is the solution of problematic situations. Knowledge is not an end in itself. It is always a means to the end of 'control over values.' Ideas are simply acts to be performed. They are means rather than ends, they are also proximate relative means.

The different versions of the *PRA* discussed in Section III are firmly rooted in the philosophy of pragmatism as indicated by their disregard for theoretical construction either before launching fieldwork or while the study is in progress.

In addition, the *PRA* takes the pragmatic position that the relationship between theory and practice is produced by experimental practice. Practice is primary. Knowledge begins and ends with practice. As Oquist (1977: 15) explains:

> Practice is where the problems that originate in research arise and where one must return for a final accounting of the vailidity of the knowledge one produces to solve the problematic situation.

The PRA is however logically inconsistent with pragmatism in some respects. Notably suspect is the *PRA's* adherence to a value judgement while all other ideas are considered operational and testable in relation to practice. The initiating and motivating premise throughout the participatory research process are the value judgements that the people being studied are oppressed or have unrealized potential. These value judgements cannot be discarded without jeopardizing the *PRA*.

As mentioned before, their value judgements and their moral imperative signify the idealist component of the PRA. Idealism is defined as a philosophical outlook which ignores material causation. Idealists embed social forces in the realm of ideas and trace history as a chronology of men and ideas instead of an unfolding picture of the development of forces of production and production relations. Participatory research clearly evidences idealism in its naive positing of participants, (i.e. the researcher and the people being studied) and their interaction as capable of problem solutions at the level of ideas while ignoring or deemphasizing the wider context of the economy and objective social forces which could impinge or facilitate remedial social action.

All the versions of the *PRA* so far discussed exemplify elements of idealism. It is important to note that originally the PRA as it was first conceived by Freire had conflicting elements of idealist and materialist philosophy. The authors following Freire possibily with the exception of the de Oliveiras are inclined to increasingly stronger idealism. However, even in the case of Freire notions of materialist causation seem to be incidental to a far more basic acceptance of idealist causation. Even though Freire writes about a dialectic between the superstructure (*ideology*) and the infrastructure defied asn that "created in the relations by which the work of man transforms the world" (*Freire 1974*: *58*), these notions are not an integral part of 'conscientization.' Conscientization remains an individualistic and spiritual experience despite the background of revolutionary activism in which it is situated. The following passage from Freire (1974) is effused with humanistic idealism:

> Che Guevara is an example of the unceasing witness revolutionary leadership gives to dialogue with the people. The more we study his work the more we perceive his conviction that any one who wants to become a true revolutionary must be in *communion* with the people. Guevara did not hesitate to recognize the capacity to love as an indispensible condition for authentic revolutionaries. While he constantly noted the failure of the peasants to participate in the guerrilla movement, his references to them in the *Bolivian Diary* did not express disaffection. He never lost hope of ultimately being able to count on their participation.
>
> In citing Guevara and his witness as a guerilla, we do not mean to say that revolutionaries elsewhere are obliged to repeat the same witness. What is essential is that they strive to achieve communion with the people—accessible only to those with a utopian vision, in the sense referred to in this essay—is one of the fundamental characteristics of cultural action for freedom. Authentic communion implies communication between men, mediated by the world. Only praxis in the context of communion makes *conscientization* a viable project. *Conscientization* is a joint project in that it takes place in a man, among other men, men united by their action and by their reflection upon that action and upon the world. Thus men together achieve the state of perceptive clarity which Goldman calls *the maximum of potential consciousness* beyond *real consciousness* (*Freire 1974*: *74-75*).

Idealism which ignores the objective class interests of the researcher as well as the oppressed themselves can simply posit liberation as an attitude of mind. The *oppressed* and the researcher somehow transcend their classes and mutually partake in a spiritual *communion* whose basis is a common humanity. While the experience may provide romantic passages for the researcher's future book, it leaves the *oppressed* in much the same state of affairs.

The *PRA's* absorption of empiricist elements is possible only at the expense of its pragmatic foundation. Empiricists regard acts as value-free and based upon neutral observation of reality. In opposition pragmatists bring the facts into existence on the basis of value judgements. But pragmatism nevertheless bears similarity to empiricism in the sense that both philosophies take facts as unproblematic. Empiricists claim to derive facts directly from reality. Pragmatists on the other hand, derive facts from problematic situations, i.e. only the situations are considered problematic not the facts. Both philosophical traditions mystify the nature of facts.

Facts are actually never given even when they may be viewed as conditional on a specified situation, as in pragmatism. Facts are always problematic. In other words, facts are always theoretical interpretations of empirical conditions.

As facts are being observed by the researcher and especially after they are recorded, they are already implicitly or explicitly a part of the theoretical constructs of the researcher. The categories in which information is either unconsciously perceived or consciously collected orders reality. For example, a researcher gathering information on peasants' annual monetary incomes for a particular area would ultimately be able to present a picture of social stratification based on his *facts*. Another researcher gathering information in the same geographical area collects data on ownership of means of production: land, ploughs, stock, etc. On the basis of his *facts* an entirely different picture of much greater social differentiation emerges. His *facts* reveal that there are landed property owners with wealth tied up in fixed capital (a phenomenon which would not have become evident using the annual monetary income category of the first researcher) versus landless rural proletariat who are forced to sell their labour power for a wage.

Neither researcher has distorted his respective facts. But the facts are different for the same reality, based on differing theoretical frames of reference. Why the frames of reference and hence the facts differ has to be understood in relation to the developing class struggle and the role the researcher objectively plays in the class struggle.

The *PRA* as was explained before aims at social change but there is no surety the net result will be revolutionary, reformist or even reactionary change. The *PRA's* stipulation that the researcher be sincerely interested and sympathetic to the people he/she is studying is nothing more than romantic idealism which provides little guarantee one way or the other. What is far more significant is that the inherent eclecticism of the *PRA* gives rise to an ad-hoc methodology which flexibly allows various political versions of the PRA to emerge. The PRA researcher's stated intention to facilitate progressive social change for the oppressed is realizable only to the extent that the political implications of his specific ad-hoc version of the *PRA* coincide with the objective interests of the *oppressed.* If and when progressive social change occurs it is never accountable to the *PRA*, but rather is attributable to fortuitous subjective factors on the part of the individual researcher or the 'oppressed' being studied.

V. The Institutionalization of the PRA

There is one final consideration to be made in this paper related to the theme of the politics of research discussed in Paper 2. It is necessary to take note that each and every social researcher who adopts the *PRA* and practices it, whether discriminately or indiscriminately with regard to methodology, contributes to the institutionalization of the *PRA* both in a professional sense vis-a-vis the social sciences and more importantly in a political sense vis-a-vis development efforts in the Third World.

What does institutionalization imply in the world of social science and social development at large today? It is perhaps too early to say. The PRA has not congealed into any one political tendency and perhaps given its eclectic nature it never will, but rather will take on different political complexions in response to different national, regional and local contexts.

Nicholaus (1972: 52) stated that there is only one general *sociological law*; namely "that the oppressors research the oppressed." Clearly, the *PRA* rejects this, and embraces the belief that social commitment can invalidate the *sociological law*. However, there is a need to be alert to two issues regarding the use of *PRA* in social research. These issues are related to the fact that even within the context of *PRA* tenets the *PRA* could very easily degenerate into *social espionage* in the Third World, despite the best intentions and commitment towards those being studied on the part of the PRA researcher.

Firstly, this is possible because the PRA social researcher rarely escapes being in a position of paid employment or financial sponsorship by one or another agencies with vested interests in Third World development. Under these circumstances the PRA researcher is rarely given complete discretion to carry on research in the manner he/she sees fit, regarding content, tempo etc. Thus the inter-subjectivity of the PRA portrayed as a dual relationship between the researcher and the *oppressed* is actually three-fold. There is almost always a third party, the sponsorship agency, who may remain a shadow, but nevertheless makes its presence felt. This third party may intervene in various ways, e.g. by demanding practical results of a certain sort at a certain time or project documentation at awkward moments etc. Thus the *results* generated by the *PRA* project can ultimately become a programmed product of the sponsoring agency. The question that all researchers commited to the tenets of the *PRA* would have to ask themselves is: "what are the interests of the sponsoring agency?" The sponsoring agency may be benevolent, patronizing, domineering or dangerously counter-reform and reactionary. Almost all *PRA* projects are thus bounded by the expectations and intentions of a sponsoring agency.

Secondly, any output of a *PRA* project whether it be the form of material reform or even just project documentation once released outside the boundaries of the inter-subjective relationship of the participants (i.e. the researcher and those studied) will have social repercussions that are beyond their control. If the commitment upon which the *PRA* is premised is to have any meaning, then the researcher in conjunction with those studied would have to anticipate the possible effects on the *PRA* project. In the more materialist conceptions of the *PRA*, depending on their political interpretations of social forces, participants would have to consider the possible impact on progressive struggles in the wider community, the amount of world as well. Of course, as stated above, the amount of control the participants have within their power even regarding the release of the material and/or ideological products they generate is limited. However, to the extent that control is possible, for the sake of conformity to the principle of social commitment, control would have to be exercised in a responsible manner.

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Discussant Response to Paper 3

Rajesh Tandon

This paper presents conceptual arguments to delineate the methodology of participatory research approach. After presenting an excellent analysis of the social and professional contexts of the origin of *PRA*, the authors describe various points of view which are broadly subsumed under *PRA*. The degree of researcher's political activism is seen as the main dimension on which these various points of view differ.

There is a major fallacy in the argument presented by the authors that the wide range of political activism supported under *PRA* leads to naive idealism on the one hand and methodological ad-hocism on the other. First, let us be clear that PRA is not an invention of the seventies, by a group of dedicated social science researchers. What is new is the label *participatory research*, not the approach. People engaged in mobilizing and organising the rural poor in India, and other third world countries, for example, through their very concrete actions, demonstrated all the aspects of *PRA* we have conceptualized recently. Many of them, those engaged in *PRA* today, do not know the label; and some of them even shy away from it.

Second, PRA can be looked at from two contrasting starting points. It can be approached from the point of view of the activist struggling in the field. For an activist, PRA, by very definition, entails political activism in the field. The other way of looking at *PRA* is our own familiar professional researcher's point of view. For us researchers, direct political activism may appear to hurt the process of knowledge-generation. Moreover, we have our own constraints of institutional membership. We may not be *free* to commit ourselves to direct political action. Is it possible to reconcile these two points of view? And if yes, the PRA will necessarily have the range of political activism in its fold, as described by the authors. If not, then *PRA* will become the future discipline of academic professional researchers and join the hands of action-research and participant-observation in the class-rooms. This is an important issue which has implications beyond the methodology of *PRA*.

To the extent that we define the origins of *PRA* in the social and developmental context of the Third World countries, we cannot argue for the separation of *PRA* from the increasing demands of participatory social action. Consequently, we cannot ignore the activists' points of view. And, that implies that the major challenge for PRA is to accomodate and integrate these two points of view. Till that happens (and if it is possible and desirable), PRA may have to continue reflecting the wide range of political activism and choices of methodology.

The second aspect of this paper which has methodological implications, relates to the issue of subjectivity. The authors highlight the argument that *PRA* reflects *open-ended inter-subjectivity* and *eclectic* approach. They feel that this eclectic orientation is embedded in the philosophy of pragmatism. According to the authors, such an orienation leads to methodological adhocism. In order to understand the subjective and eclectic aspects of *PRA*, we have to examine the basic difference between classical research approach (*CRA*) and *PRA*. One of the hallmarks of classical research approach is its clarity and precision in methodology. Moreover, this methodology of CRA is based on the control of external, *spurious* influences and the subjectivity of the researcher. This implies that *CRA* encourages the thinking aspect of the researcher; and, it attempts to reduce the feelings of and actions by the researcher which are believed to *contaminate* the research.

This rigid delimitation of thinking as the only mode of inquiry is the foundation of *CRA*. Its proponents have advocated this methodology and its teachers have presented philosophical justifications for thinking as the only valid and legitimate mode of knowing and inquiry. However, human beings are somewhat different from machines. They feel and act, as well as think. As feeling, thinking and acting individuals, they not only learn but also contribute to others learning. To the extent that *CRA* is limited to thinking mode of inquiry, it truncates the essential humanity of the researcher and makes unrealistic demands on him/her as a researcher. *PRA*, on the other hand, accepts feeling and acting as equally important modes of knowing as thinking. The entire existentialist philosophy supports feeling as a valid mode of knowing; and the theoretical underpinnings of action-research provide the basis for acting as a legitimate mode of knowing.

If we recognize that *PRA* is a holistic approach to inquiry and knowledge-generation, with feeling, thinking and acting as independent and correlated modes of inquiry, we begin to understand the apparent eclecticism and ad-hocism of the *PRA*. To the extent that *PRA* opens up many more modes of inquiry as opposed to the narrow, limited, uni-modal approach of classical research, it is inevitable that the methodological options thrown open by *PRA* will appear to be *unruly*, *anarchic* and ad-hoc to those of us who are schooled in the neat, well-defined and preset methodology of *CRA*.

Moreover, the eclectic orientation of *PRA* is a reflection of not only the wide range of modes of inquiry as described above, but also the variety of contexts, researchers and issues presently being encompassed by *PRA*. Different researchers with different previous experiences are engaged in PRA in different settings. This variety is so overwhelming to us used to *CRA* that we almost label it ad-hoc and open-ended.

The third aspect of this paper which has attracted me is the notion of idealism in *PRA*. The authors argue that *PRA* implies *value judgements and moral imperative* which reflects the idealist component of *PRA*. Moreover, they maintain that such idealism tends to overlook material causation. The paper further describes how this idealism leads to *naive positing of participants*, whereby objective socio-economic conditions as causes for problems and their solutions are ignored. I tend to agree with the authors partly. It is conceivable that the PRA can *degenerate* into a subjective, local and superficial analysis of the social reality. It is possible that the researcher places entire emphasis on the subjective experiences of the participants in developing an understanding of reality. In my own field experience, I have found that small, poor farmer is unaware of the systemic causes of his poverty and impoverishment. If I agree with him blindly, the only plausible explanation for his poverty is his own stupidity, ignorance and incompetence. However, this will be my naivete as well as a distortion of *PRA*. One salient methodological element of *PRA* is the joint analysis performed by the people as well as the researcher. The researcher develops his/her own analysis of reality (and that includes objective systemic conditions) just as the people have their own subjective analysis of reality. These two are then brought into active interaction whereby a joint analysis of reality develops. Without this joint analysis, the methodology of *PRA* is incomplete. And having engaged in this process of joint analysis, the researcher can avoid the pitfalls presented in this paper. Moreover, it is this element of joint analysis in PRA that brings out the key learning for the participants.

In sum, therefore, it is useful to underscore the anarchic appearance of *PRA*. It appears anarchic because it is a major departure from our present modes of conçeptualization of research process. It seems anarchic because it is pregnant with unmanageable variety. And it just may be anarchic because it is ambiguous, unclear and incomprehensible.

Discussion Paper 4

Participatory Research: Redefining the Relationship between Theory and Practice

Deborah Bryceson and Kemal Mustafa

In this paper, ***participatory research*** is distinguished from the pragmatic participatory research approach (*PRA*). Participatory research is defined as research structured by the democratic interaction of the researcher and oppressed classes of people, and takes the form of a dialectical unification of theory and practice reciprocally between the researcher and the oppressed classes. In Section I participatory research is distinguished from the pragmatic *PRA* on the basis of their differing methodological foundations. Section II posits participatory research in the context of an explicit formulated methodology, historical materialism, and examines the nature of theoretical analysis in this methodology. Section III turns to a consideration of practice and compares the differences between the premises of pragmatic *PRA* practice and participatory research practice. Section IV discusses the content and phases of participatory research projects with regard to the role of the researcher vis-a-vis the oppressed classes. Section V concludes with a brief consideration of the goal of participatory research projects, and the implications and possible hindrances in the realization of this goal.

I. The Participatory Research Approach (PRA) versus Participatory Research

With reference to argument made in Paper 3, contrary to what many of the advocates of the pragmatic *PRA* assume, the *PRA* is not a comprehensive research package. Those who use the *PRA* and adhere to its tenets fail to take cognizance of implicit theory underlining their research work. *PRA* practitioners are not able to recognize the contradictions between their stated intentions and the real implications. As pragmatic anti-theoreticians, they obscure the real philosophical and theoretical nature of their work. Nevertheless, its nature generally surfaces in political terms which are objectively identifiable with particular class interests.

There is a necessity for the clear formulation of a methodology which provides the analytical tools for understanding the society under study as well as defines criteria for the designation of desired change. The aim of the pragmatic PRA has been consistently conceived as progressive change for the betterment of the people. For example, Freire in the following quote seemed to imply that the dialogue and democratic social interaction of the PRA is theory in and of itself and inevitably leads to revolutionary change:

> "Lenin's famous statement: 'Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement' means that a revolution is achieved with neither verbalism nor activism, but rather with praxis, that is with *reflection* and *action* directed at the structures to be transformed. The revolutionary effort to transform these structures radically cannot designate its leaders as its *thinkers* and the oppressed as mere *doers*." (*Freire 1972: 119-120*).

In the above quote, Freire hit upon the essential point; the necessity to destroy the division between mental and manual labour. Nevertheless, as a whole the quote is mystifying. The meaning and content of *reflection* is obscure and never clarified anywhere in Freire's writings. In like manner, other proponents of the *PRA* leave the door open to anything in the name of *reflection* and hence anything in the name of social change.

Oquist (1977) explains how progressive change is not guaranteed by the PRA devoid of any specification of a methodology:

> "The notion that action research[1] necessarily implies a reformist or revolutionary orientation is based upon the idea that action implies change and passivity the status quo. However, the reproduction and maintenance of existing social structures and processes also requires action. Indeed, the action required to relatively maintain certain structures and processes may be much greater than that required to produce change in certain contexts.
>
> Thus, action research is no more necessarily progressive, reformist, nor revolutionary than policy nomothetic, or descriptive research is necessarily reactionary. All of these forms of research are simply instruments that may be employed for progressive or reactionary purposes" (Oquist, 1977: 28).

The question which necessarily follows is, which methodology provides an adequate basis for research aimed at progressive social change, while specifying the researcher's democratic identification and interaction with the oppressed peoples being studied. Can any well formulated methodology suffice? The following pages will argue that the historical materialist methodology is the methodology most logically consistent with the intentions of the PRA.

Within the spectrum of those advocating the pragmatic *PRA*, many have already incorporated materialist elements into their interpretation of the PRA. Most likely, they would view the adoption of the historical materialist methodology as the development of the *PRA*. In fact some of them have already taken this step. For example, Fals Borda (1977) writing about the experience of Columbians engaged in *Investigation y accion* (*action research*) noted:

> "In the regions studied, there was felt a need for a sociology to be above all a social science inspired by the interests of the working classes and the exploited: a *popular science* as it was called in the beginning, which would be of greater use in analyzing the class struggle detected in the field, as well as in the political action of the working classes as actors in his-

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[1] Note Oquist refers to participatory research as 'action research'.

> tory and their projection in the future......It was necessary that this new social science be integrated with various disciplines, not only with sociology nor with it as a general base. As had been demonstrated during other periods and at some length by many adequate studies it was historical materialism, as a philosophy of history, which provided the culminating point of unification" (*Fals Borda, 1977: 19-20*).

Contrary to those who are willing to readily accept and/or adopt historical materialism, there are those holding strong idealist interpretations of the *PRA* who would consider the adoption of the historical materialist methodology as a rejection of the *PRA*. The difference of opinion between the two positions is rooted in different interpretations of the *PRA*, so there is very little likelihood that a consensus of opinion could be reached. Therefore to avoid confusion, this paper distinguishes the *PRA*, devoid of a formulated methodology from *participatory research*, situated within a historical materialist methodology. This distinction accommodates both of the two foregoing positions; the reader has the option to regard participatory research as a rejection or further development of the *PRA*.

II. The Historical Materialist Methodology: Theory

The distinction between the *PRA* and participatory research is significant in a qualitative and not a quantitative sense. Specific historical materialist concepts can and are often eclectically assimilated in the *pragmatic ad-hoc PRA methodology*, but as isolated concepts removed from the rich theoretical matrix of historical materialism and divorced from the materialist philosophy, their employment does not begin to approximate the holistic and scientific methodology of historical materialism.

For clarification, it must be emphasized that the historical materialist methodology is scientific, but not in the sense of giving rise to universal and absolute knowledge. On the contrary, the historical materialist methodology produces abstract categorisations of material phenomena which are bounded by historical time.[2]

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[2] This is a very important point which cannot be over-emphasized. At the risk of anticipating the argument that will be made in the following pages it is necessary to mention that so much of what is misunderstood or misrepres-

Historical time is discerned through the historical materialist philosophy, method of abstraction and method of investigation which allows for the critical awareness and theorization of the conditions in which it generates its own conceptual categories.

Philosophically, historical materialism conceives social existence as primary and consciousness as secondary. In this connection, Marx explained:

> "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness" (*Marx, 1973* (*1859*): *503*).

The method of investigation is one whereby social phenomena are studied historically to the present to decipher their unfolding and dialectical nature and their relationship to one another. Research conducted within the tradition of historical materialism is guided by an explicit frame of reference with precise categories and terminology for social phenomena.[3] The essence of the historical materialist method of investigation is the dialectical unity between theory and social practice which will be explained in Section III.

The historical materialist method of abstraction gives rise

ented as historical materialism is merely rhetoric posited as absolute and universal 'historical materialist' truth, irregardless of particular historical and social contexts. This *historical materialism* is sometimes referred to by critics as dogmatic and/or mechanical historical materialism. However when considered in light of historical materialist methodology, it is in fact antithetical to historical materialism and instead is representative of sloganeering and demogogery which smothers the dynamic link between historical materialist theory and practice and precludes all forms of democratic practice.

[3] Regarding historical materialism's precise categories and terminology, it is necessary to mention, lest there be any confusion that the essence of historical materialist analysis is not the usage of what may appear to some as an obscure vocabulary. One's theoretical analysis can be historical materialist without employing historical materialist terminology, in fact without even being consciously aware of using a historical materialist methodology, providing one concretely analyzes the social forces behind class formation in society. The historical materialist terminology is merely a short-hand means of referring to social phenomena which otherwise would take a great many words to refer to or describe. In other words, historical materialist terminology is a means of facilitating one's theoretical work.

to a theoretical framework and also theoretical problematics at more concrete levels. The method of abstraction is a two-fold process involving study of general social phenomena and then their specific manifestations as well as analysis at abstract and concrete levels. The method is dialectical and dynamic when the knowledge generated by specific study and concrete analysis is used to inform and enrich the original general and abstract theory.

Study of general phenomena is conducted using basic theoretical categories which posit production as the core of man's activity. Employing the fundamental concepts of mode of production, forces of production, relations of production etc. one is supplied with the analytical categories capable of ordering a general picture of the current economy and society. Research activity at this early stage can take the form of reading and critiquing theories arising from other people's practice. In the process, one gains analytical clarity to the extent of ascertaining in relation to the social totality of the world, the dominant mode of production and sub-ordinate modes as well as identifying their corresponding relations of production and productive forces. This is done with a view to not only constructing an over-all picture of the forces operating in the world economy and society but also to devise specific materialist theoretical categories relevant to the empirical investigation to follow. By this stage, a theoretical problematic is beginning to be worked out by the researcher.

In this manner, one can then proceed to specific study. One's focus becomes narrowed to a particular social formation not forgetting the general context in which it is situated. Actual field work commences at this stage. In Third World social formations, the task at hand is to decipher the specific nature of the articulation of modes of production within the social formation. In the process, a detailed picture of the relations of production emerges. On this basis a class analysis of the social formation can be formulated capable of illuminating the problems of the oppressed classes and pointing to particular tactics and strategies necessary for the resolution of social contradictions. This new knowledge is then integrated into the general analysis to update and enrich it.

Concurrent with study of general and specific social phenomena, the researcher seeks to understand the dynamic development of dialectical forces through a process of abstraction then concretization. This is achieved by studying certain essential phenomena in partial isolation from other phenomena in order to comprehend their nature and contradictions particular to them. After so doing, the researcher observes the phenomena's operation and articulation to other phenomena in the concrete situation.

To further clarify the nature of theoretical analysis, the following example of a concrete study is provided. The study focussed on peasant food production and food supply in relation to the historical development of cashcrop production in a particular district of Tanzania.

The construction of a general theoretical framework for the study was influenced by a reading of many of the classical works of historical materialism as well as more recent works on the political economy of *underdevelopment*. The basic theoretical premise was that the capitalist mode of production's world dominance and its growing imperialist penetration in the Third World increasingly warps and/or destroys pre-capitalist relations and forces of production. The theoretical problematic addressed was the nature of imperialist penetration and relations of production as evidenced in the historical development of food and commodity production in the designated district of Tanzania.

The selection of social phenomena for abstraction included: *commodity production*, *use value*, *exchange value*, *material reproduction* etc. as important theoretical categories corresponding to essential social phenomena. As an example of the abstraction-concretization process, let us examine now *material reproduction*.

Abstractly, *material reproduction* refers to the cyclical maintenance and regeneration of food, shelter, land, tools and objects of labour necessary to sustain household producers (taking the case of peasants) and their offspring throughout the labour process. The land, tools and objects of labour compose productive consumption; their form and type dictated by the nature of the labour process. Food is a part of necessary consumption. While food is always an essential element of the material reproduction of the household, at low levels of development of the productive forces, food becomes a more volatile and crucial element. Because food was the central focus of the study, the concrete development of it as an element of material reproduction was historically traced from the pre-capitalist modes of production, through the development of trade and the imposition of mercantilism and finally the penetration of agrarian, industrial and finance capital. In this way concrete and specific study was integrated with the aim of revealing the underlying forces acting to change peasant food production and food supply in the designated district.

III. Participatory Researcher's Subsumption in Historical Materialist Practice versus the Practice of the PRA

Section I while criticizing the *PRA* dealt with the necessity of having an explicit methodology and theoretical framework. Section II singled out the historical materialist methodology and described it. However the description emphasized its theoretical side, which can result in a false portrayal of the historical materialist methodology as a philosophy and body of knowledge which is static and even dogmatic. Section III hastens to clarify that the historical materialist methodology is not complete without the welding of theory and practice. The question to be answered in this section is, what is participatory research subsumed within historical materialist practice. Is it the PRA purged of its eclecticism?

Participatory research represents one aspect of historical materialist practice. Historical materialist practice is ideological, political and economic action undertaken in furtherance of class struggle. It encompasses all stages and aspects of development of the class struggle. The aspects of historical materialist practice include: forms of political consciousness raising against feudalism or capitalism, armed struggles for national liberation, progressive party organization and activity, etc. Participatory research while being one aspect of historical materialist practice can and in fact must struggle to be an all pervasive influence on every stage of the development of the class struggle. This is because of its strategic importance as a mode of appropriating knowledge in furtherance of the class struggle. Participatory research is firmly rooted in the historical materialist philosophy and method of abstraction. Mao described it in the following words;

> "If you want to know a certain thing or a certain class of things directly, you must personally participate in the practical struggle to change reality, to change that thing or class of things, for only thus can you come into contact with them as phenomena; only through personal participation in the practical struggle to change reality can you uncover the essence of that thing or class of things and comprehend them" (*Mao Tse-Tung, 1973: 7-8*).

It must be stressed that participatory research by its very nature is applicable to any and all social conditions and national contexts. In other words there are no *ideal conditions* under which participatory research operates.

While participatory research ostensibly bears a resemblance to the pragmatic *PRA* the differing philosophical foundations of the two render them distinct. This distinction is very marked when considering the respective relationships they posit between theory and practice, and secondly their respective means for the designation of desired social change.

A. The Relationship between Theory and Practice

Regarding the relationship between theory and practice, the *PRA's* pragmatic foundation rejects a dialectical unity between theory and practice. So-called *practice* is primary, serving as both the starting and ending point of research. Reflection mediates in a responsive subordinate manner. *Practice* as both a means and an end in itself lends to the content of *practice* as well as reflection, an arbitrary subjective nature.

Materialist philosophy posits the source of knowledge as ultimately derived from social practice in production and reproduction. Therefore at this philosophical level practice is primary, while methodologically the theory and practice of historical materialism cannot be separated. The direct practice of an individual is related to others in a cognated written or verbal form thereby becoming indirect practice or what otherwise could be referred to as social knowledge or theory. Because the historical materialist's starting point is an understanding of the historical social totality, he/she relies on a body of fundamental concepts and accumulated facts arising from previous historical materialist theory:

> "All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience. But one cannot have direct experience of everything; as a matter of fact, most of our knowledge comes from past times and foreign lands...Moreover, what is indirect experience for me is direct experience for other people. Consequently, considered as a whole, knowledge of any kind is inseparable from direct experience. All knowledge originates in perception of the objective external world through man's physical sense organs. Anyone who denies such perception, denies direct experience, or denies personal participation in the practice that changes reality, is not a materialist" (*Mao Tse-Tung, 1937: 8*).

Practice begins with theory and theory begins with practice. Seemingly contradictory, the dialectical unity of theory and practice has to be explained in this way. Furthermore, the dialectic in motion constantly blends practice into theory and theory into practice. Theory does not exist for the sake of theory. Theory must be consistently verified by practice in order that theory may consistently guide practice.

However, theory is not to be dominated by practice as is true for pragmatism which leads to subjectivism. Safeguarding against this, historical materialist theory is not simply verified in terms of practical utility. Historical materialist verification of theory takes place at distinct levels of theoretical construction: the level of theoretical production with the test of correctness, and at the level of selective theoretical formulation with the test of relevance. The necessity to distinguish two levels of theoretical construction and their respective tests of verification is critically important. In the first instance of theoretical production the test of theory is practice, but once proven in this manner it becomes part of the historical materialist body of knowledge—part of the methodology, existing in a guiding capacity in terms of future theoretical production.

To illustrate the above point, let us imagine a historical materialist who is embarking on the social investigation of the peasantry in an African country. From the outset, his general study and abstract analysis are rooted in the body of fundamental concepts produced by preceding historical materialist analyses. These fundamental concepts have already been tested and proven to be correct in the sense that they sufficiently corresponded to the reality at that preceeding time and place to guide practice for the transformation of that reality, in the interests of oppressed classes.

Selective theoretical formulation is thus the process whereby guided by the premises of the historical materialist philosophy, the researcher chooses from the body of fundamental concepts of historical materialism those relevant to his general and abstract theoretical analysis and practice as it pertains to the particular African country. Since these concepts have already been tested against reality before and their correctness proven for that time and place, the task of the researcher is not to accept or reject these concepts as correct, but rather to test their relevance for the situation of the designated African country. If he/she finds the concepts analytically imprecise and hence inapplicable to practice, it is necessary for the researcher to develop new concepts within the bounds of the historical materialist methodology. In this manner he/she begins theoretical production.

Theoretical production has two aspects. The first being as explained above, the development of new abstract and general concepts capable of more powerful clarification of the social reality when all other historical materialist abstractions prove inadequate. Secondly, at the level of concrete analysis, the researcher must produce concepts specific to the situation of the designated African country, which can account for detailed social phenomena hitherto not considered within the historical materialist methodology.

While selective theoretical formulation and theoretical production are performed by the individual researcher the resulting theory is social knowledge because of its social purpose. The theory merges into practice aimed at transformation of social reality. Furthermore, historical materialists are not individuals engaged in *practices*, rather they are participants in a social practice which is inter-related spatially and temporally. Practice determining the relevance or correctness of theoretical concepts gives rise to a growing dynamic body of historical materialist concepts, subject to testing in future theory and practice.

B. The Means of Designating Desired Social Changes

Returning to the comparison of the *PRA* based on pragmatism and participatory research rooted in a historical materialist methodology, there is one other very striking and most profound difference between the two. Up until this point in section III, the content of social transformation or social change (as it is referred to by pragmatists) has not been emphasized, when in actual fact it is of deepest importance to the meaning of practice and the whole discussion on the relationship between theory and practice. If desired social transformation is never scientifically defined, theory and practice are unguided, directionless and subject to any arbitrary twist, with little possibility of dialectical unity.

The pragmatic *PRA*, in and of itself, cannot define or be directly instrumental in the realization of progressive social change. In other words, it does not offer the researcher or the oppressed, a scientific methodology capable of theorizing the nature of class societies and the oppression found therein, in order to progressively change them.

Using the historical materialist methodology, the content of social transformation and for that matter practice is not left to be interpreted and determined by the subjectivism of the individual researcher. Historical materialism defines social transformation in terms of the progressive development of the class struggle. The historical materialist methodology is the science of class struggle. Historical materialists regard human activity in production as the most fundamental practical activity. Therefore, neither the theory nor the practice of a researcher can be judged on the basis of his feelings or intentions. Rather a researcher's theory and practice must be evaluated in light of the objective role or function both play in relation to social production and class struggle.

IV. The Role of the Researcher in Participatory Research Projects

In the realm of historical materialist practice, participatory research represents the general struggle to break down the social division between mental and manual labour. In participatory research projects, the researcher's position as a researcher amongst the oppressed and exploited classes indeed testifies to the reality of this social division. The relationship between the researcher and the oppressed classes must be carefully structured to both take cognizance of and attempt to undermine the division between mental and manual labour. This requires a constant alertness to the limitations that are faced by the researcher and oppressed classes as members of different classes.

A. The Researcher's Social Class

The researcher is an intellectual who is usually divorced from production in the sense of neither owning nor labouring with the means of production. To the extent that the researcher is divorced from production, he/she objectively is a member of the petty bourgeios class, although his/her emotional and intellectual sympathies are directed at the oppressed and exploited classes. In most cases, the researcher's petty bourgeois class has afforded educational opportunities and leisure time both of which have enabled the researcher to do theoretical work. In such cases, the researcher's practice as a petty bourgeois intellectual has influenced his/her theoretical development, and in turn his/her theoretical development has led the researcher to seek to engage in practice outside the sphere of his/her class and society, with people of the oppressed classes the researcher endeavours to understand the nature of the oppression of social classes in the specific location where he/she has decided to live and work. In other words, the researcher develops a theoretical understanding of social forces which is wide enough and deep enough to allow him/her to embark on 'practice' amongst classes whose oppression renders them likely to benefit from the researcher's theoretical insight.

B. The Oppressed Social Classes

The people that the researcher seeks to associate with are, as stated above, members of one or another of the oppressed or exploited classes. Their relationship to the means of production determines the nature of their oppression. The three classes in this category most commonly present in social formations throughout the Third World are firstly, peasants who are distinguished as owning their own means of production, which they combine with their own labour to generate a relatively low level of productive output. There may be differentiation within the peasantry. Generally, however peasants exert great effort to produce their subsistence. Furthermore, when they produce commodities to be sold on the world market, the labour times embodied in the commodities they produce versus the items they purchase are rarely commensurate. This situation has the effect of placing peasants in a disadvantaged position vis-a-vis the world market and hence, is the material basis of their oppression.

Secondly, there is the proletariat who do not own any means of production and therefore sell their lobour power for a wage that covers their subsistence. Their *exploitation*[4] is premised on the fact that the labour they exert generates commodities whose value far exceeds the cost of their wage.

Thirdly, there is the lumpenproletariat who do not own any means of production nor do they sell their labour power on a reguiar basis. Hence, their subsistence is highly precarious making them highly vulnerable targets of various forms of oppression.

Besides the objective basis of the oppression and exploitation of the above classes, they and their families experience physical, social and educational deprivation outside of the working place. Members of these classes, for the most part, are not in a position to fully comprehend the nature of their oppression and exploitation. Many, especially those in the peasantry, consider oppression as part of a *natural order* which is unamenable.

C. The Basis of Democratic Interaction in Participatory Research Projects

Any participatory research project devoid of the potential for political mobilization afforded by party organization, cannot be expected to undermine the class differentiation that exists between the researcher and the oppressed classes, let alone the class formations in the wider society or the world at large. However, the democratic interaction of a participatory research project can effect a change in the degree of social division between mental and manual labour to the extent that the researcher imparts theoretical awareness to the oppressed classes that they can then act on to effect progressive change in their society.

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[4] *Exploitation* in a strict historical materialist sense denotes the specific form of oppression exerted by the capitalist class in the process of expropriating the working class.

Democratic interaction cannot be premised on the idealist conception of *social equality*. The objective class position of the researcher as opposed to the oppressed classes renders *social equality* meaningless. Any researcher who falsely assumes the attitude of social equality would be patronizing and his/her artificiality would quickly become apparent.

Democratic interaction must be premised on a sober class awareness. This entails that the researcher reject romanticism and any notion that the oppressed classes hold ultimate truth by virtue of their oppression. This point is emphasized by Fals Borda (1977):

> "Some of the regional researchers were initially inspired by an almost romantic conception of *people* to the point of being inclined to view their opinions and attitude as revolutionary truth. This obviously erroneous tendency to believe that *the masses are never wrong* came from political schools of thought in which a personal identification of students and intellectuals with the masses was emphasized; identification which demanded obvious demonstrations of commitment such as callouses on the hands and a Franciscan lifestyle in tune with the poverty of the slums and rural villages in which work was carried out. In practice, this populist masochism led nowhere nor was this the best way of linking oneself with the working masses by virtue of it not being intellectually or humanly honest, and by falling into an extremist objectivity which, in truth, corresponds to the mentality of the petty bourgeoisie" (*Fals Borda, 1977 : 28*).

It would be a mistake for the researcher to conceive his/her task as one of merely drawing out and helping the oppressed classes to expand so-called *commonsense notions* of their reality. The oppressed classes' commonsense notions are permeated with the ideology of the social system which oppresses them. They rarely find the means to grasp the significance of their oppression, nor are they in a position to see or comprehend manifestations of capitalist oppression in other parts of the world. In this sense, they are ignorant. Their brutal conditions of existence can lead them to insensitivity and cut-throat practices amongst themselves as often as it leads to solidarity and co-operation. This point also was forcefully made by Fals Borda (1977) :

> "...in general the voice of the masses spoke with a traditional accent reflecting the weight of the alienation to which it had been subjected under the capitalist system. These were, consequently, individuals educated in, and corrupted by, the capitalist society. Even those cadre considered to be among the most advanced often times demonstrated a lack of clear consciousness with respect to their role in history, much less the capacity to voice their own scientific interpretation of their own reality or project it into the future" (*Fals Borda, 1977 : 38*).

The democratic interaction between the researcher and the oppressed classes must be built on the basis of the researcher's acknowledgement that he/she does have a pedagogical contribution to make. The researcher's role and justification for self-insertion amongst the oppressed classes is to trigger their deeper awareness of their own situation as well as a wider awareness of the situation of others who are affected both adversely and beneficially by the capitalist system. This awareness must be structured to become a tool for the oppressed classes enabling them to effect changes to better their situation.

Furthermore democratic interaction implies reciprocal interchange. Democratic interaction would be very one-sided if it was only a form of responsible pedagogy of the researcher. It must not be forgotten that the researcher while imparting knowledge seeks to gain knowledge through research. The data gathered in research can provide the basis for a more comprehensive understanding of the conditions of oppression which hopefully will have significance for the future practice of the oppressed classes. In addition, by verifying or enhancing the existing body of historical materialist analyses, the data, once disseminated, can have repercussions on historical materialist practice throughout the world.

D. The Reciprocal Dialectic between Theory and Practice in Participatory Research Project

Clearly, participatory research projects involve a very complex intermingling of the theory and practice of the researcher and the oppressed classes. This reciprocal intermingling of theory and practice must be carefully structured to bridge rather than widen the social division between mental and manual labour which exists between the researcher and the oppressed classes. For clarification, it is useful to delineate phases of the participatory research project in terms of the changing role of the researcher (*refer to diagram on page 104*), although bearing in mind that in any actual participatory research project the phases can never be strictly delineated.

1. The Preliminary Phase

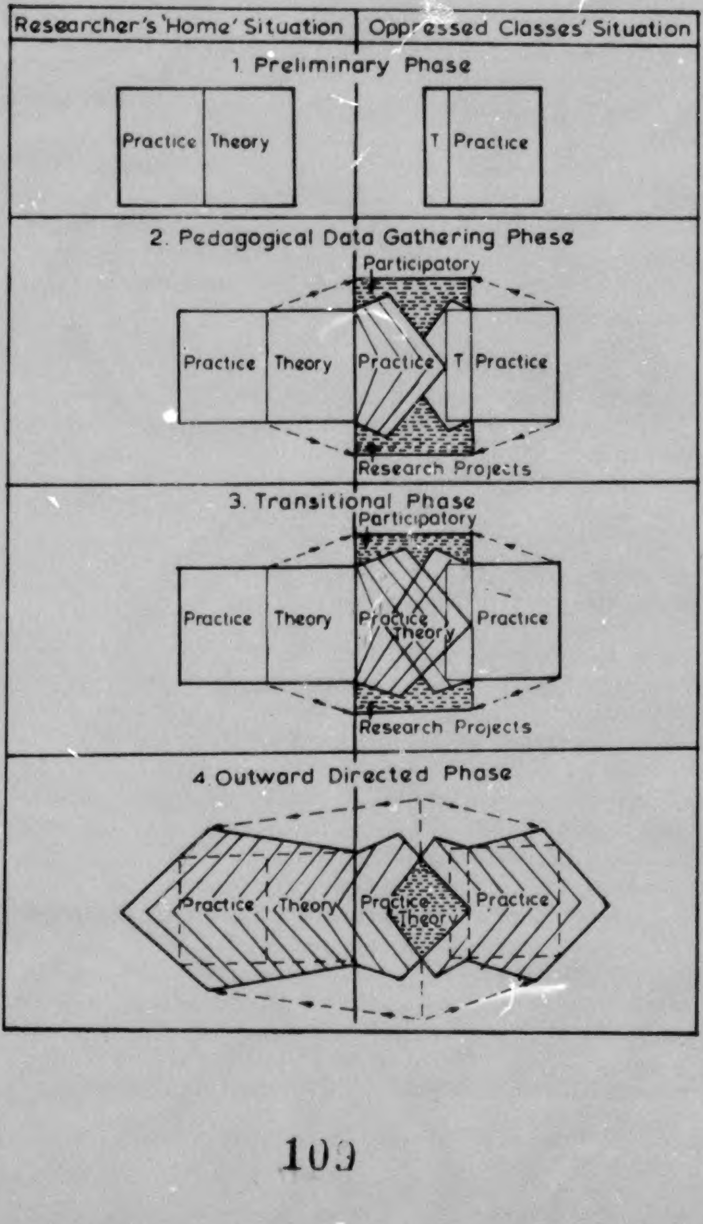
In this phase, the theory and practice of the researcher are yet to be welded, but the researcher has begun to try to theorize the condition of the oppressed classes within the context of the concrete social formation that they are situated in, in preparation for his/her practice amongst them. The researcher must formulate a tentative theoretical problematic, subsequent to background research on written documentation and other available source material.

2. The Pedagogical Data Gathering Phase

The researcher engages in practice amongst the oppressed classes which is aimed at drawing them into the realm of theory. The arena of the participatory research project thus becomes the welding of the researcher's practice based on previous and ongoing theoretical work, with the oppressed classe growing theoretical consciousness, unseverable from the material conditions of their practice.

The researcher's practice takes two forms: teaching and research. These two forms are mutually supportive. The teaching serves to explain to the oppressed classes significance of the research. Their understanding and acceptance of the research and its purpose facilitates research work both in terms of their willingness to elucidate their lives and their actual participation in data gathering, thereby assisting the researcher. Imparting research skills becomes part of the teaching process. Further-

The Reciprocal dialectic between theory and practice in Participatory Research Project



more, the research findings as they become available enhance the quality and effectiveness of the researcher's teaching.

The researcher's teaching is aimed at leading the oppressed classes not only to come to an intellectual understanding of their social situation but also to see their social situation in terms of the wider social totality. The manner in which this consciousness is instilled is critical. The researcher must:

(a) fathom the level of understanding of the oppressed classes and provide insights to them begining at this level, carefully and gradually raising their consciousness over time;
(b) concentrate on the areas of interest decided upon by the oppressed classes themselves; and
(c) most importantly, gear the pedagogical process to establishing the basis for the oppressed classes' democratic control over their own environment.

3. The Transitional Phase

This phase is directed at channeling the researcher's practice and the oppressed classes' theoretical development to maturity, thereby sparking the initiative of the oppressed classes themselves, to engage in *reflected practice*. This culminating point is reached through the collective work of the researcher and the oppressed classes in verifying their research findings. The process of verification takes place both in terms of relevance and correctness, as discussed in Section III. The verification process consolidates both the pedagogical and research aspects of the previous phase.

The role of the researcher is again extremely delicate. The researcher must refrain from the following during the verification process:

(a) attempting to *prove* his/her theories; and
(b) trying to instigate decisions on the part of the oppressed classes regarding future political action. It is not the province of the researcher to evoke any political action whatsoever, whether it be of a reformist, revolutionary or of a status quo nature. Any political action, if indeed is to take place is to be decided by the oppressed classes independently of the researcher.

The need for any social change must be perceived and then acted upon by the oppressed classes themselves. Whether discussions regarding the verification of the research data lead to *reflected practice* of the oppressed classes, arising out of their new theoretical understanding, is contingent on social conditions outside of the boundaries of control of the participatory research project. In any case, the *transitional phase* as the name implies must draw to a close with the initiative being relinquished by the researcher and left open for the oppressed classes to assume.

4. The Outward Directed Phase

The fourth and last phase, the outward-directed phase, is so named because it marks the end of the previously intense interrelationship between the researcher and the oppressed classes. The welding of the practice of the researcher and the theory of the oppressed classes has generated new knowledge which can provide a basis for the oppressed classe's *reflected practice*, as well as being integrated into the theory and practice of the researcher vis-a-vis his/her home social situation.

During the previous two phases the researcher had to exercise constant vigilance to be pedagogical but not manipulative. So too, in this final phase, manipulation on the part of the researcher is a danger. The researcher must at all costs avoid assuming political or social leadership amongst the oppressed classes even if a leadership void exists (*Fals Borda, 1977: 33*).

Rather the researcher must place himself/herself at the will of the oppressed classes which can mean one of two things:

(a) either the researcher can serve in an advisory capacity as well as facilitating realization of the oppressed classes' decisions by using his/her *outside* contacts and class position, or
(b) the researcher takes leave of the oppressed classes.

In either case, the researcher must theorize the results of the practice he/she has engaged in amongst the oppressed classes. This theorization will then have impact on the researcher's future practice in his/her home situation.

In those instances where the oppressed classes do not take any initiative leading to *reflected practice*, this should not be a source of disappointment or feelings of failure on the part of the researcher. Rather the researcher should theorize what social forces acted to block their initiative. Fals Borda (1977) appraising the impact of the ***Investigation y accion*** project in Columbia wrote:

> "Information was gathered for the people. Scientific data were obtained, there were publications, and certain mass movements were promoted; yet the work did not coalesce in superior organisms or in more ambitious tasks of social transformation.... Even so, what little was accomplished in this pedagogico-political field demonstrated the importance of examining the convictions of the masses and their leaders so as to urge them to act, and to act with efficiency. This appeared to be a pertinent way of converting the *class psychology* which was found in class consciousness, of helping to change the *class in itself* into *class for itself*. We still are not aware of a better way of converting common sense into scientific knowledge, nor of giving it the dynamic elements necessary to its own political advancement. In this area, the challenge continues, but it is a challenge which applies more to the revolutionary parties as such than to committed intellectuals individually" (*Fals Borda, 1977: 35-36*).

V. The Goal of Participatory Researcher Projects

As stated before, the goal of participatory research in general is the dissolution of the social division between mental and manual labour. The means to the goal is in fact its solution, i.e. continual democratic interaction whereby men, women and children are respected and respect one another as politically capable of knowing and acting upon the resolution of their own physical and social needs.

Any participatory research project which fails to propagate democratic interaction will only enhance rather than destroy the division between mental and manual labour. Some of the pitfalls have already been alluded to, they include:

(a) The participatory research project can become a base for local power politics. From amongst the oppressed classes, certain individuals spouting the appropriate populist slogans can try to gain leadership positions which are then used to usurp rather than promote democratic interaction and collective decision making.

(b) Secondly, the researcher could slip into arrogance and egotistically harbour the feeling of knowing best, wanting continually to be the final authority and not willing to relinquish his/her initiating role and accept the will of the oppressed classes. Ultimately, this attitude leads to adventurism in political action as well as undermining the very purpose of the participatory research project.

(c) Thirdly, total apathy, on the part of the oppressed classes could block any progress at all being made to dissolve the division between mental and manual labour. The apathy would have to by attributed to overwhelming social forces beyond the control of the participatory research project. If this is the case, the researcher must be realistic and refrain from *forcing* democratic interaction, which again would be counter to its purpose.

The success of any participatory research project is always bounded by the wider social reality in which it is situated. Participatory research projects should not try to ignore or encapsulate themselves against the wider social reality. True, the success of the participatory research project depends on establishing a democratic, non-hierarchical internal order allowing for continuous dynamic social change, but at the same time internal order (as opposed to social anarchy) must be strong enough to safeguard against any detrimental interventions of the wider society.

A successful participatory research project produces on a microscale the contradictions of nation-states transcending from capitalism to socialism. Democratic interaction must be carefully structured to maintain the delicate balance between the relations of *outside* and *inside*. The intervening bodies which can adversely or beneficially affect participatory research projects include political parties and the government, and agencies for financial support. In a wider sense all of these represent the currents of class forces which combine with the local class formation and determine the success of any participatory research project in the final instance.

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Discussant Response to Paper 4

A.O. Anacleti

First may I take this opportunity to thank all those who worked on the 4 discussion papers. If anything they have set a good firm basis for reconsidering popular research methodologies that are currently in use. I take also the opportunity to thank the two who prepared paper 4, which is the main subject of my comment. I think this paper, and the other papers will help to save the academicians, and especially those academicians who have decided to deal directly with the questions of rural populations, of the usual malady of turning research methodologies into subjects of study for their own sake rather than tools for attaining the correct solutions for practical problems that are facing their societies.

In an earlier comment I had said that there are three things that the type of researchers I have reffered to should not do. These are, first to look for miracles and wonders and to turn these into fascinating problems of research; two to do some luxury research to entertain ones' mind. I then said that such a research is no longer acceptable either to the capitalists, for reasons nicely summarised in paper 3, and they are equally useless to the Third World for reasons that I think are adequately dealt with in paper 4, and lastly to conceive problems themselves, write proposals for them, and finally research on those researcher created problems on behalf of the oppressed and ignorant masses. All the three types of research have one thing in common so far that they are all for the satisfaction of the needs of the researcher rather than the researched. The problems that such research attempt to solve tend to remain bookish, and irrelevant both to the researchers and even to the type of problems they are suggesting should be solved. At the time I was doing this I did not at the time have a clear reasoning on the weakness of this methods till I went through the 4 papers. I must say that I have been highly enlightened.

But let me come back to paper 4. The departure of the authors from PRA which they would seem to have depicted in terms that could be summarised as *nipe ni kupe* (give me because I am a tick to suck your blood) to Participatory Research which I could again summarise as *nipe nikupe* (give me so that I give you) is certainly remarkable. The opening of their paper with a definition as to what they mean by *PR* certainly sounds a clear warning to those who have always assumed that the salvation Research methodology had already been found to do a rethinking. The alternative they suggest basing themselves on historical materialism opens a new chapter for debates and discussions. Such a discussion is certainly healthy as a step towards reaching an approach to the rural problem that will not benefit individual researchers but as they suggest create a new democratic interaction. Even then I feel there are a few words that have to be said on the paper in a way of comment.

Beginning with the first page, when discussing the question of *PRA* versus Participatory Research, they claim that those who use *PRA* and adhere to its tenets fail to take cognizance of implicit theory underlining their research work'. I feel that the PRA users recognise the implicit theory but do not usually deliberately, go for causes of contradiction mainly due to their class background and the aim of the research project and what is expected of such researchers by the donors. Such expectations are usually implicit to the rest of the world but very explicit to the researcher and the donor or beneficiary of the ultimate research results.

On page two they argue for the necessity for having a clear formulation of a methodology which provides the analytical tools for understanding the society under study as well as defines criteria for the designation of desired change. I think this is a very important point, provided that it is realised that while we must have tools, the tools must have a definite purpose lest we come out of with a neo-idealist stand of seeing historical materialism as an omnipotent. To do this will land most of us with doing wonderful analyses of the present situations without ever wanting to see what we have analysed is working. It is lucky that the authors towards the end of their paper and especially through the aid of their complicated diagram have at least managed to show that mere analysis is not their purpose. Otherwise, what is proposed here as PR would have a very little difference with pragmatist *PRA* who begin with idealism and end up in missionary utopanism of perpetually hoping for change when the good word shall have penetrated most of the thick and hard hearts, for, to want to change for the better remains an attitude of mind and depends on that attitude rather on positive human efforts and struggles with the material world. There is a need to appreciate that there is a danger that some people might begin with a HM analyses and end up with a suggestion of some reformist policy under the name of socialist development. Recent trends that have been occuring in places like China and Vietnam should be indicators of what might happen with rhetoric appliance of HM.

On page 4 the authors touch on a very important question whether there can be a research approach without a theoretical framework? This question is important since some pragmatists always say that having a framework will jeopardise research results, as the researcher shall have already accepted some forgone conclusions. Or else I am sometimes told, that having a theoretical framework is similar with a carpenter who has already made a wooden dovetail in his work, and therefore his remaining duty is merely to fit in the other dovetail which has no choice but to be the same. Such people argue that facts should lead to a theory. Hence begin on tabular raza basis. It is important however to remember that there is no researcher, nor is there a research situation that is a tabular raza. Hence a researcher always starts with some kind of framework, this can be idealistic or materialistic but all the same it is a framework and must be reckoned with as such.

It is this last view that makes it a matter of necessity that a researcher's conceptualisation of existence comes into question. If the researcher has an idealistic conception of existence, he is likely to have an idealistic theoretical framework. Such a framework usually has the characteristics of being dressed in uniforms of neutrality and morality but it remains idealistic. If a researcher thinks that social existence is primary and consciousness is secondary, then he will proceed to look for material causes of such existence which will more likely than not force him to have a materialistic approach to the problems of that existence.

On page 6, the authors tell us that an early stage can take form of reading and critiquing theories arising from other people's practice. While I agree with the necessity of this stage, there is a need to caution here that such reading and critiquing should not take the refugist approach which tends not to face the reality of the problem, and see all those that have in one way or another attempted to put forward their experiences as wrong, while the critique himself has little to offer to counter the former experience. I realise also that this argument is sometimes used by the so called *experienced researchers* to fix their juniors, but there is a need for the *HM* approach and PR researchers to move fast out of this stage of development and reach higher stages that they so clearly describe later on in the paper.

On page 7 the authors have provided an example of a concrete study without documenting where it was. A concrete documentation of such a study could have further clarified the points they were making. Authors have talked for quite a long time on what should rather what *HM* has done versus what they talk of on *PRA*. There is a need for the authors to convince the readers that *HM* is a proven method and is no longer at conceptualisation stage. For if we accept the former argument, then it will be difficult for them to present the superiority of PR over *PRA*. Hence the point on page 10 should be given an added importance where the authors clearly state *theory does not exist for the sake of theory*. For many people who question the viability of *HM* always tend to accuse it of being merely theoretical and as such does not touch on real issues of the society when facts would tend to the contrary.

Another important point is made on page thirteen and sequence where the authors clearly warn most of us researchers not to assume that we shall automatically be accepted by the villagers from mere sentimental aspects. Having been born in a place, or the number of the years a researcher has lived in the area is usually not an automatic certificate of acceptance. I feel it would not be bad here to remind the workshop the words of Jesus that *No one is a prophet in his home.* This is because the people at his home would be aware of his class origins and why he is claiming to be a prophet. Similarly the villagers might be ignorant in so far that they do not have the bourgeois knowledge, but in no way are they stupid. For they too always have their own research to do on the researcher. Their research, luckily, is usualy based on concrete situation as caused by the concrete production relations pertaining in the village. As such it is wishful thinking for researchers that they will be accepted either on some humanistic or sensational wishes rather than on purely materialistic conditions. Hence a researcher, unless otherwise, will always be an outsider. And not only an outsider, but one who is definitely identified with the oppressors. It is therefore appropriate that the authors give the objective approach that might help out of our plight at the end of their paper

On page 15, the authors have introduced the question of proletariats, peasants and lumpen proletariat in the third world. I have always thought this question is important and needs a deeper study at micro level to identify the type of classes are emerging in this areas especially after political independence and the relationship to present imperialist form.

All said the problem remains, is *PR* a development of *PRA*, its alternative or just the corrrct version of *PRA*? I tend to side with the last statement of the three.

PART II

Case Studies

Case Study 1

Participatory Research as an Instrument for Training: The Youth Development Project in the Coast Region of Tanzania

Marja-Liisa Swantz

Introduction

Training has been given a high priority in most development programmes. Most traininig programmes continue to be based on the principle of a transfer of knowledge from the teacher (or trainer) to the student or trainee and consequently most training institutes run on this principle. This paper aims at giving a few practical suggestions for a problem-oriented village-level approach to training. It is based experiences gained in a few experimental research projects with University students in Dar es Salaam. A Youth development Project is given as an example.

When as in the Tanzanian case, the people's development means their own and their leaders' mental and social co-operative participation both in the decision-making, planning and implementing processes, this affects the modes of training. All training should aim at creating in the people not only an awareness of the need to disseminate their acquired knowledge but a new awareness of the problematics of their own situation and of the resources they have at their disposal. Furthermore, training should not at any point become a means of social differentiation but it could rather be used as a levelling instrument.

Research is often conceived as an academic exercise which elevates the researchers above other levels of the society. A researcher traditionally sets other people as objects of his/her research and treats them at his/her will from the heights of specialized scientific knowledge. The separation of categories of knowledge is another aspect of social arrogance based on social differentiation. What is needed is the realization that all knowing is part of a common field of knowledge. No scientific knowledge about the society can be created without the common sense knowledge of the common people. The creation of the necessary knowledge about a society can become a common, shared learning process and so also a training process. Participatory research can be used as an instrument for training which takes as its postulates the following factors:

1) Social equality creates a favourable climate for training in common participation in furthering the agreed development aims of a society.
2) A method of shared participatory research is a method of learning which helps to create awareness of the existing social reality both in those acting in traditional teachers' roles and those who are being trained on all levels.
3) People's development depends largely on their own resources of which they become aware through interaction with members of the society from other educational and social categories.

Thus participatory research can be part of the on-going struggle to bring the intended policies of social and economic equality into fuller realization.

When thus conceived, the process of participatory research becomes a method of training and not only a process of investigation.

Investigation is a necessary part of the on-going process of social renewal. When a society is built on practical reality the factors affecting the life of the people in that society can be found out only through common investigation. That kind of investigation can not be done only by outsiders because even if they would be equipped to make a scientifically structured inquiry they are not sufficiently familiar with the particular circumstances of a local situation to be able to ask pertinent questions (Mao Tse Tung 1966).

Common inquiry, the joining of intellectual and social resources on all levels is necessary both for a deeper understanding of the existing conditions and potentialities of the society and for creating a social climate which honours all existing human resources, develops these resources and builds the society on them. In this way, the so called motivational training can affect and transform the human resources such as skill, receptivity, concept formation, problem definition, need of achievement, etc. (Himmelstrand—Okediji, 1968).

But the success of training is further dependent on the structural position of the trainee. If his/her position in the social system does not allow or enable him/her to take up roles of responsibility his training does not enable him/her to utilize his/her knowledge (Swantz, 1974). Or if the socio-economic differences between the various strata of the society are such that e.g. a student's personal interests deriving from his class-position are in conflict with his/her social obligations or make him/her otherwise indifferent to the needs of others, then the unequally structured society would not encourage training of the lower echelons of population. There would be contempt in place of service.

In the Tanzanian context the political climate is such that socio-economic differentiation should not be allowed to become a motivational hindrance, even if the social reality still favours the educated. The ideological overtones of the educational system should serve to discourage any demonstration of social superiority even when the actual positional strength would allow for it.

The Tanzanian political goals see development in terms of people's development. Implementation of any development programmes requires village participation and co-operation, whatever other prerequisites for development there are and whatever hurdles elsewhere need to be cleared. People's participation means people's awareness of their own resources, but it means also that participation is extended to other levels of the society.

To summarize, training should activate both the trainees and the trainer, the students and the teachers, in a common learning process which at the same time can be part of the struggle to build a socially economically just society. Participatory research can be used as an instrument to accomplish these goals. Scientifically significant goals can be reached even if people from all levels are incorporated in the common process of investigation. It could even be argued that in an investigation of the social reality of a people such goals can be reached only if the people concerned are part of the process of investigation and inquiry.

What does participation in a research/training programme mean?

In Anthropology participant observation has been the principal method of research as long as anthropological work has been based on field work. Participatory research is essentially different from participant observation although it shares with it the same existential starting point: the presence of the researcher in the research situation and a long time exposure to immediate relationships with the people in the community.

Participatory research does not stop at the point of observation. In the anthropological method the position of the observer remains external to the actual situation although many attempts have been made to break this general rule and to abolish the researcher-researched dichotomy. Many anthropologists have striven to identify themselves with the community they have studied by establishing personal intimate relationships of varying degree with the people they have studied by being adopted in kinship or age-class roles (e.g. Swantz, 1970; Rigby, 1977) or by disguising themselves as members of some ethnic or cultural group.

The discussion of the role of the anthropologist in the research community has often centered around the question of objectivity. The presence of an observer influences the actions and thinking of the observer people and, on the other hand, an observed is too closely tied with the situation he/she observes to be able to make an objective evaluation of it. Thus the scientific value of participant observation as a method has been questioned on the grounds of lack of objectivity.

A participatory researcher does not make any pretense of being an outsider. He/she does not remain in a position of an observer but becomes a participant in the community in which he/she works. This is hardly ever fully possible. In actual fact the outsider's position cannot be completely abolished unless the person is in reality part of the group or community either by originating there or doing research in a home community. But participation in a developing and changing situation means taking active part in the life of the community in the roles which offer themselves. When participatory research is recognized as part of the development process itself and not a separate annexed activity, the researchers will more readily be integrated into the community itself. Furthermore, participation means also integration of the former objects of research in the research and learning process. A term "subject participation" has been suggested to be used in place of participatory research.

The degrees of participation is an organizational matter, closely related with the political and social prerequisites that a country or society sets. Participation as a form of co-operation with all the levels of the society requires a general policy of a country which aims at equity and recognizes the people's right and duty to participate as equals in the development of their society. In a situation of structural inequality and an established class structure participation means identification with discriminated or oppressed sections of the society and the consequences from it are very different for the research itself. It will before long lead the researchers to take a stand against the oppressors.

Participation in the Tanzanian context means co-operation with all the levels of society, with all those who in one way or another are influencing the development or wellbeing of a particular community, a group of people or a society. Co-operation may mean taking opposing stands, having to contradict, even to oppose policies and actions which do not seem to further the good of people with whom the researchers identify themselves. It recognizes the contradictions inherent in a social and political practice, if not in a system, and acts in them from a position that has to be defined.

In general terms, this position has in the experimental participant research projects been defined as that set out in Tanzanian socialist policies, earlier in TANU guidelines and President Nyerere's extensive writing and statements and at present in the policy of the CCM.

The general policy statements leave, however, much room for differing views which potentially could influence any action taken in a concrete practical situation. The attitude taken to the necessity of promoting active class-struggle is one of the principal points of contention.

Whatever the position taken the experience gained in practical work so far has not manifested itself in any differing moves or actions of the researchers holding differing views although the issue has been much debated in theory. In practice, the principle of co-operation with all the potential classes has been part of the policy, and the aim has been to eliminate as many of the obstacles of development as possible.

Identification with the peasants

The conflicting interests have been met from the position of the peasants. The researchers have identified themselves with the peasants and taken the view of the Tanzanian policy which aims most of all at lifting the position of the poorest or in anyway discriminated peasants. In a project like Jipemoyo this has become evident in identification with the culturally and socially marginal pastoralists. (I avoid saying discriminated, because neither the officers nor the agriculturalists acknowledge discrimination on their part, although the pastoralists are very much aware of discriminatory practices and attitudes.) The researchers have also tried to take the poorer agricultural peasants' point of view rather than that of the wealthier ones who readily dominate in the village social and economic life. Identification with the poor peasants is naturally only attitudinal not existential, since the researchers' own economic position in no way compares with that of the poor peasants.

Another so called marginal group are the women. They can be considered marginal only in the sense of not being central in the formal socio-economic or political structures lacking significant leadership and power positions. The women's significance in the production process and in the traditional social sector is by no means marginal. Women form another group with which especially the women researchers have striven to identify themselves.

What does participation through identification mean in practice? It means sharing the living conditions of the peasants, living in an ordinary village house, cooking in the same way or eating in local "hotels." It means sitting with people in their homes, home yards, and places where men or women congregate. It means sharing in work with the villagers, at least to some extent, attending their formal and informal meetings, ngomas and family festivals. It means being informed about the village events, hearing the gossip, sharing the fears and troubles. Participation becomes thus also a personal matter. In interpersonal relationships the researchers will have to share also personal problems and will to a certain extent become involved in people's social affairs. From the research point of view empathetic participation becomes a dialectical process of communication. In the process the investigator and investigated exchange roles, both being equally in the position of recipients and transmitters.

The fact that the researchers most of all identify themselves with the villagers and as already stated, with in some way discriminated and poorer sections of population may cause and has caused certain tensions. The question arises to which extent the researchers should be influencing the actions and expressions of the people and to which extent they should consider their task only to assist the villagers and also the leaders and officers to ask relevant questions about their own situation and work or about the plans and policies which they implement. By guiding the people to ask relevant questions and by directing them to the sources for receiving relevant answers becomes in fact a consciousness raising activity.

People have many questions to which they want answers. In an ordinary conversation the potential influence of an outsider can be substantial in opinion formation or in creating attitudes. For this reason, participation requires initial agreement of the general goals of the policies pursued in a country or real integrity of the researchers not trying to influence people in the direction of their own particular ideological slant. On the other hand, open exchange of ideas and mutual sharing of opinions open up the minds of people to the larger world and forms thus an educational experience for all concerned.

In a situation in which an initial agreement with the prevailing policies is not intended the identification with the discriminated and oppressed leads to ethical questions which the researchers would have to answer respectively, taking into account the limits that the society places on them and the possibility that they be denied the access should the participatory activity be experienced subversive by the ruling authorities.

The position of foreign researchers in a participatory research team in a country like Tanzania presupposes that there is trust in the individuals and in their integrity in that situation. It is easy to see that the position is in many ways vulnerable and can be continued only because of the generous and open attitude of the host country.

There must be, however, some means left for keeping a social distance, much as a sympathetic counsellor keeps a distance from the client while at the same time showing empathy. The traditional society has carefully maintained such relationships of social distance through differing avoidance rules and rules of conduct. The social pattern thus accommodates such social relationship. What form the interpersonal relationships take will depend largely on personal qualities and attitudes of the researcher and cannot be regulated.

Identification means minimizing differences. A student who wears his fashionable pants, shoes or shirt on his first visit to the village or otherwise emphasises his difference from the common village people jeopardizes his possibility of being accepted as an equal. For women researchers on the coast it so far means wearing a khanga instead of appearing in the village in flowing pants, however common the pants may have become in urban use. These may seem insignificant points yet they may become significant obstacles in common sharing.

There can be no true participation unless there is genuine understanding, or at least striving for understanding, of the living forms and concepts of reality of the people who are incorporated in research. Empathy is a requirement without which participation cannot be attempted. This then also means that research becomes an inter-subjective activity requiring intra-personal integration, aligning of the researcher's intellectual and affective approaches to the given situation. The researcher is in a very vulnerable position because the whole research situation can be affected by his/her failure to manage the situation on a personal level, yet the experience shows that the closer the link with the people the more readily the researcher is accepted with all his/her weakness.

Experimental use of Participatory Approach

When the participatory approach was used in 1973-1975 in an experimental way in BRALUP research projects the following guidelines were stated:

1. Research conducted in a community should be planned so that part of it directly benefits that community. It should have a participant—and action-oriented role in the community.
2. Research carried out for the benefit of a specific group of people should involve these people in the research process whenever possible and practical.
3. Development research requires an interdisciplinary team approach. This in turn would lead to research planning in large units rather than in isolated piece-meal projects. When the problem arises .from a practical need it requires practical solutions which in turn necessitates the co-operation of scientists from different fields. A problem arising from within the scientific context can be dealt with within that same frame-work, but a problem arising in a practical situation is multidimensional.
4. Research involving people is by its very nature an educative process for all the categories of people engaged in the process. This aspect should be given recognition in research planning.

The results of such experiments have come out as BRALUP publications. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were utilized, using questionnaires sparingly in a supplementary way. Students who took part in these projects stayed in the villages, or related to a small number of people over a period of several months, participating in shared action in the life of the communities they studied, e.g. in eradicating malnutrition and in starting youth projects.

The Malnutrition Study had a motivational effect in that the families affected by malnutrition became aware of the factors leading to undernourishment, but also of the potentialities within their reach, if any. The affected families were also involved in locating others in the same situation. A more extensive use of the research approach over a longer period of time could have created more lasting results especially through a more extensive exploration of the use of political pressure by the deprived sections of the society. The weakness of the temporary nature of a student-conducted research became manifest at this point.

The Village Skills Survey was an example of a more traditional survey approach, but it was developed into villagers' evaluation of their own strength, of the resources existing in their area, as well as of the specific needs for training to become self-reliant in skills. The survey became also an impetus for improved literacy through the functional use made of literacy. The survey was supervised by local leaders elected in village meetings, and the household questionnaires were filled by literate household members themselves whenever such were present. The most significant part of the survey was the village meetings held in the end to evaluate the strength and potentialities of the village. They gave the villagers an opportunity to discuss their plans in relation to the leadership provided and consitdering he available skills and natural resources, and to assess realistically the inputs needed from outside.

Reports of both these studies are available in publications. As a practical help for training programmes I shall here elaborate the experiences of the students in the Youth Development project.

University Students' Experiences in Participatory Research

Youth Development Project

The first larger research project in Dar es Salaam University in which *PRA* was experimented with was the so called Youth

Development Research Project during the long University leave in 1973. The experiences of students who were engaged in this programme in the Coast Region of Tanzania illustrate their initial attitudes, the changes they went through and the difficulties they encountered. Their evaluation of their own experiences reveals the necessity and benefits of such a training programme.

Previous to the Youth Project a student-teacher doing practice-teaching in a Rufiji village school was given the task to observe how the *ujamaa* development was progressing. The student was *not* part of a participatory research project, he had only been given some general advice by his teacher as to the content of such an inquiry. Parts of the report he produced are quoted here as an illustration of an initial attitude and the end result of one who in no way had been prepared to meet a village situation on a basics of equality or respect (Student report, 1972).[1]

> "To get reactions properly from the residents has been something difficult except that the outsiders (of the same locality) have to explain the case."

> "Village people know their backward situation. They understand that they have to have the three important things in life: food, clothing and shelter but they don't know and are unable to get where to start. Worse is their ignorance that even given the necessary starting point they can improve. Superstition and cultural beliefs have brought in stringent jealousy and malice among each other and where these things are, development is something next to impossible. To make themselves happy and forget about the past the people have decided to try and live a lazy and luxurious life : they are now too engrossed in liquor, women, bao and sports."

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[1] Because of the personal nature of the information the names of the students are not given. A full list of names participating in the programme is given in the Appendix. The programme was carried out under the Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning in co-operation with the Institute of Education, University of Dar es Salaam and supervised by M L. Swantz and Ruth Besha respectively.

The poor contact and prejudiced attitude of this student is manifested by his remark that he could not get the answers to his questions from the villagers themselves, but had to resort to the outsiders working in the village (e.g. teachers), whose views most likely were similarly distorted because of their prejudices. To send students to villages to be taught by villagers without a guided plan is not sufficient for a training exercise. It often turns to a negative experience for all concerned.

Also reports written by students who took part in various participatory research projects in 1973 reveal initial attitudes which speak for the necessity for a training experience of the kind advocated here:

> "Apart from a natural commitment to my family, I think this is the first time I have committed myself to a people not related to me by blood. The often preached dictum that the educated man should be devoted to the national cause is very remote in the students' minds. The people and their problems are very far from either the students' comfortable surroundings or the man in the office. When an enlightened (educated) man has had intimate contact with the people and their needs he cannot but get himself involved. In this situation there is no need for lectures or political propaganda."

The research project on youth in the Coast Region aimed to find out what possibilities the youth in general and the primary school leavers in particular have for their own advancement, for participating in the development of their villages, and for becoming productive members of society. The study was carried out with 17 University students who participated in the project for 1-3 months each, living in the villages and taking part in the daily life of the people.

Another aim was to challenge both the traditional and *ujamaa* (co-operative) villages, in which the project was carried out, to a new awareness of the potentialities of their youth to become a transforming force within their communities. The University students, while working with the village youth, at the same time helped both the youth and the villagers to ask significant questions concerning their own development and that of their villages. The students in turn became aware of the struggles of the rural population and had to identify themselves with this struggle in a tangible way. Thus the research experience became one of a common search for common problems.

The students either tried to interest the youth in starting some co-operative projects or they assisted in carrying out existing plans. In four of the villages, carpentry projects were initiated for learning and carrying out a trade. In three villages, gardening projects were attempted, and in one a poultry project was started. In two, girls and women sewed clothes for sale in the village, and in one a fishing co-operative was organized. Standard 7 pupils were enlisted in the projects, in the hope of making them want to stay in a village after completing the school.

In some cases, the projects started well and continued with local and district support. In other cases, continuation was doubtful because of lack of local leadersip and encouragement.

From each village the University students wrote two papers, one a general analysis of the village and the other on development opportunities for youth in that village. In addition, each student had a topic from the field of his own studies which gave him an opportunity to apply theoretical knowledge in practice. Education students studied the integration of primary school into the village community. A resource assessment student collected soil samples and made a soil analysis; a rural development student studied the process of starting an *ujamaa* village; another evaluated the radio health education campaign at the village level, and two were involved in a special UNICEF study of the young child. One student gathered material for his final thesis in economics of fishing production and marketing in the village in which he helped the fishing co-operative to get organized and started. After several weeks of fishing expeditions, his acquaintance with the primary aspects of production helped him to make a realistic analysis.

It became evident that the theoretical subject knowledge acquired in the classroom was not adequate when applied to the village situation. Through guided observation and involvement, the students learned to see the connections between the problems and solutions, and began to see their own field of study as part of total pattern of village life. This was invaluable training for future officers who will be carrying out development projects in such situations but who are often tempted to do it from behind the desk. A few quotations are given here from student reports in which they evaluated the action research.

> "I have come to realize (while in the village) that this was a unique programme. While the traditional research methods take the people as objects of research ours took them as actors, in fact the stars of the whole process. This was a revolution in itself."

> "Despite all the problems, the method whereby researchers stay and work together with the local people is the best one, as besides bringing youth of different educational levels together, it also gives local people opportunities of learning from the researchers. During our stay in the village people of different ages talked to us and asked important questions. At the same time we learnt a lot from the local people during our informal talks. People talk freely with people with whom they are acquainted."

> "After having been introduced to the village leadership which understood our mission quite clearly, the first task which confronted me was to obtain contact with the youth, explain myself, seek to be understood and finally to be accepted as someone who was genuinely interested in trying to solve their problems. Getting accepted was the first prerequisite in the village youth project. The second phase was to do something, to act. In the third stage the youth relied on me to help them to start a project, which gave me a great sense of committment. It became difficult for me to disengage myself or to be indifferent."

Student evaluations elaborate further the experiences in participatory village research and point to important aspects in an encounter between educated and non-educated members of the Tanzanian society:

> "University students made direct human contact with the youth and obtained direct information about the youth.

> The students participated in unfolding the social reality of the village youth."

Participatory village research should not only involve the common villagers in the research process and thus offer a learning process for the people and researchers alike, it should also have to incorporate the Government officers and political leaders on all the levels in the common inquiry which then becomes a form of self-elimination for those who are charged with the responsibility over the different aspects of development. A student writes of his experience in this respect:

> "In order to fulfill the aims of the research in action, there was a need to bridge the gap which exists between the village youth and the government which had ultimate responsibility for the development of the youth. The University was the middleman between the two parties. The University made direct contact with the village youth and explored their situation, then communicated the information to the Government. The University also brings the govenment to the village, the village youth now meet face to face with the government. I think this is the role that University students and their supervisors had to play in the programme."

On the other hand, a critical student evaluation reveals the weakness of a practical research effort when the necessary official stages were by-passed:

> "The organizers of the research should have discussed, this project with the Second-Vice Presidents' office which deals directly with Rural Development rather than informing it only. After discussing this matter with the top officials there, some experts of that office should have been consulted to attend the seminars which were organized at the University before we left for the field. The students who went to the field should have discussed this matter with the District Development Officers of each district before they went to the villages. I say this because of staying for a long time in the field and seeing that it was necessary to look for initial capital from the District Headquarters. One District Edu-

> cation Officer said he had Tshs. 7,000 in his office for such projects but the amount had been used in other activities because he knew there were no projects. Had he known before, this would have been granted right when we went in the field."

In a project intended for the benefit of the villagers it is easy for the researchers to begin to side with the common people in such a way that relationships with the officials are severed and the whole project thus endangered unnecessarily. The question of unavoidable conflicts needs to be treated separately.

An important aspect to be considered in evaluating the students' Participatory Research programmes was the positive response that the programme received from the village leadership and also similar reactions on the part of the District Officers concerned.

Through the youth development project the villagers found new ways of co-operating and thus building up their willingness for communal work. They were inspired to draw up and initiate programmes, involving people of all ages and not only the youth, such as a communal chicken project, garden project and communal workshops for carpentry, tinsmithery, and bicycle repair, as well as doing some fishing co-operatively.

The villagers credited the research project for their waking up to their own opportunities and for being able to start working towards their own greater development. The potentialities exist in a village for its own development, when some initial encouragement and help in solving some practical problems and in thinking through its own situation is given.

The District personnel recognized the role that students could play in making the policies of the country understandable for the villagers, particularly for the youth, in applied practical terms, thus helping to motivate the people towards development and change. District Officers were willing to recommend continuation of a participatory research programme in their district.

Students' problems of participation

In student projects, where participation is part of the training method difficulties arise which become part of the training process itself.

Some problems had to be faced during the stay of the students in the villages. The financial situation of the students became problematic both from their own point of view and from that of the villagers, as also the matter of accommodation and food in the villages.

The question of finances has also its wider context. Can the value of such a combined research and training programme be reconciled with the large financial input in terms of students' salaries and equipment? When this is considered in terms of cost for development it can be questioned whether it is an economically feasible road to development. This is a question which cannot be evaluated in financial terms alone, yet nevertheless, it requires careful consideration.

Another difficulty is the temporary nature of the research students' presence in the villages. It is not always easy to provide continuity for work initiated in such co-operative efforts.

The difference between the economic level of the educated trainee and the ordinary villagers is experienced as a conflict at every point of contact with the villagers. Some of the students' reports indicate that there was an effort to minimize these differences:

> "(People) think a 'big person' has unlimited material resources and therefore is always able to solve their problems (individual or communal). I tried to make myself as simple as possible in order to remove these unhealthy ideas."

Two other students who participated in youth research and a development project reported:

> "Things did not go as expected. The youth had misconceptions about our going to the village. They had expected us to go with thousands of shillings and open an industry and employ them. The success of the project they thought would be only to our own benefit and not for them."
>
> "When they (the youth) saw that we could give them cigarettes or money when they asked us, they flocked around our house pretending they were committed to our project. When we gave them no more material help, they would complain bitterly and many became hostile to us."

The whole question of assistance and self-reliance is a problematic one since hardly any project can be started without any monetary or material aid. This became particularly obvious in the situation in which the students were, having to accomplish their aims in a very limited period of time:

> "The question of aid, especially cash, is very dangerous. The appearance of it kills the spirit of self-reliance. In giving aid to the villages, cash should be hidden as much as possible and if possible it should be transformed into materials."

The problem of finances was not only that of financing the projects or directly aiding the youth. It was also a personal problem for the students to manage with the Shs 500/= paid to them. Three students who worked in Mbwawa reported:

> "More money should be paid to students doing research projects in the rural areas. This is due to the many problems the students face while they are in the rural areas. For example, those staying with the villagers are sometimes faced with the problems of financing the families they are staying with. Also some students, when they get sick there, find it very difficult to get good medical treatment. At such times they are forced to travel many miles to look for good medical treatment. These journeys involve them in high costs and expenses."

Living accommodation was another point of contention. Initially it was envisaged that the students would live with the villagers. This thought was well received in some of the villages. In others no attempt was made on the part of the villagers to accommodate the students. Of all the students, only one continued to stay in a family, sharing the food and contributing toward the expenses, for the whole time of three months. Others who started in the houses of villagers eventually moved into empty school houses or rented a room in some house, either cooking their own food or having it cooked for them by some helper. Living with a village family the students found that they did not get food that was sufficiently nutritious and they had to contribute more money than they were ready to spend. This shows the inevitable gap there is in living conditions between educated researchers and villagers. It can be asked whether it becomes a divisive factor or whether it can be minimized.

The general opinion of the research students was that an attempt to live with the villagers, even when they welcome the students into their houses, is not a good arrangement. This opinion differs from my own experience (Cf. also Rigby, P., 1977, Jipemoyo). Too close an identification with the school would have hindered contacts with that part of the population which does not associate themselves with the school.

Another problem concerns the continuity of the development projects initiated while the researchers are in the villages. Some permanent organizational solution should be found which would enable villages to accommodate external trainees. One possibility for providing some continuity for the work of trainees would be for various training institutions to establish permanent contacts in the areas in which they are located. There is, however, a danger inherent in this that the villagers tend to transfer the responsibility of development to external agents.

Students' recommendations

All the students who took part in the Participatory Research programme were ready to recommend an activity of this kind as part of the University's training programme for its students. There were suggestions for improvements and recommendations to the University as to how it could best be integrated into the work of the University. Some of these suggestions are given below.

A student working in Rufiji recommended that such a programme be a permanent part of the University curriculum. What concerns us here is that the training given at the University, pertains also to all training institutes, especially those training personnel for rural areas:

> "The experience has been unique.... This research at the same time benefits the researcher, the respondents, the government and the people. The researchers are the ones first to benefit, especially those who take Rural Sociology and Rural Development. These have really applied their theories

> in rural transformation. The government will learn what problems exist in the villages...they can know what plans can fit particular people. The people have benefitted from the researchers' ideas and the projects which have been started."

> "I would recommend that the University organises such types of research during the long vacation. This would make the students utilize the knowledge which they have obtained throughout the academic year. The Arts students, especially those whose courses relate directly to the rural sector, must put their theories into practice so that they may start learning and experiencing the problems in the areas they will serve. I appeal to the University authorities to consider this suggestion so that the next long vacation may be thoroughly utilized. By comparison, it is a wastage of government money to pay a University student Shs. 500/= per month to a job wholly unrelated to their courses".

> "When I look at the University Prospectus nearly all students take Development Studies, which means that every student should have some understanding of the rural problems of our country. Why shouldn't the University send these students to try to infuse the rural areas with their political ideas and their knowledge of Socialism...the jobs should be based on the principle of discovering, trying to solve problems in discussions with the respondents, taking immediate action towards solution of these problems, and reporting the unsolved problems to the departments concerned who will dispatch copies of these reports to the government. If such jobs are done, we are sure of attacking underdevelopment on another new front."

The nation expects involvement of its educated men and women in the development of the country. To give the students of various training institutes both training and experience through a guided Participatory Research Programme benefits all parties concerned. The experiences gained from the student participatory projects in 1973-1975 were by and large positive ones. Therefore both the supervisors and the students recommended that similar programmes become part of the training institutes' curricula.

Concluding remarks

Participatory research has been here considered from a practical point of view, emphasizing its benefits as a training approach. It is the opinion of the writer that training on all levels aimed at educating workers for village development, whether they belong to health, agricultural, veterinary, forest, game etc. sectors, should locate a very substantial part of the training in the villages themselves, not just in schools located in rural areas. A substantial part of training should aim at working out practical problems existing in village reality in co-operation with other trainees from various sectors. Finding a workable solution in practice to a practical problem that a village faces, in co-operation with the people and other leaders, should be the final test of a training programme.

The concluding recommendation is that PRA should form the basis for all the training programmes requiring practical experience, in the field of future work. The training should be problem-oriented, integrating trainees from different sectors in a co-operative participation in the life of the people in the communities which form the focus of trainees' future work.

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Kibwana, Ozieli
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Makalle, A.B.P.
Malipula, Mohamed M.
Mapunda, P.F.N.
Mlala, O.M.
Mwanjisi, M.R.
Mwerangi, Seth A.
Mwinyi, Jamila.
Nyaborogo, Patrick M.
Rugaika, Willibard K.
Salimu, Mary M.
Tonya, Ephraim B.

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Akarro, Hawa.
Ausi, Hilda.
Bryceson, Fahy Deborah.
Kamugisha, Magdalena.
Kileo, Engera.
Kimei, Venus.
Kuwite, Catherine.
Macha, Fatuma.
Mallya, Bibiana.
Mambo, Epiphania.
Mlay, Severa.
Mutembei, Regina.
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Tewa, Calister.

Case Study 2

Rural Vocational Education in Tanzania: An Exploratory Research

R. Mshana and T. Bita

Introduction

The Christian Council of Tanzania, in cooperation with its Member Churches has been conducting since early 1975, an exploratory research into the pressing problems of rural vocational education in Tanzania. This research has been analysing in depth and breadth the existing problems, and the most important findings have been made public in a "Preliminary Report" that was extensively discussed in the National Workshop organised by the researchers held at Kicheba Village, Tanga.

This paper attempts to give a brief historical background of the study in section one. Section two concentrates on the organisation of the research embracing the nature of the research problem, the purpose of the research, time and people involved. Section three gives a detailed account on the process of familiarization used, the analytical framework and the stage reached by the research so far. Finally, a critical analysis of the entire research experience is given.

Background

Vocational education as it is presently known in Tanzania was introduced in the late 19th century by European Missionaries and later operated under the control of the Missionary Societies as well as the Colonial Governments. This formal educational system was imposed outside of the existing traditional education which was part of African tribal society. African traditional education served the function of reproducing the various skills which were used in production and maintanance of the society. The vocational educational system introduced by the Missionaries and the Colonial Government had an entirely different objective. The purpose of this education was to train a semi-skilled and skilled labour force which was used to facilitate the economic exploitation of the colonized country by the colonizers. It is this latter system which has survived the colonial era and which continues to dominate the vocational education sector in the post-colonial state. The entire educational system of Tanzania takes both its form and structure from the material conditions imposed by the colonial society and its objectives of economic exploitation. These conditions continue to exist upto the present time, consequently, the educational system in independent Tanzania remains virtually the same in structure, form and purpose as it was during the colonial era.

The colonial education system in general and its vocational component in particular was divided along class, racial, and sexual lines. Strong interlinkage existed between education and employment. The class and racial lines often overlapped but there were class distinctions even with racial groupings. These became even more prominent towards the end of the colonial era when colonialists recognized the need to train an indigenous class to carry on the activities of economic exploitation which they had begun. Thus the establishment of the post-colonial state saw rapid phasing out of the racial biases in education and further entrenchment of the class nature of the system as well as its sexual biases.

The class nature of the educational system in the context of an underdeveloped and dependent economy have produced a number of contradictions with which the system is finding it increasingly difficult to cope. Among the most serious of these contradictions is the growing number of Primary School leavers who fail to gain access to the small number of available places in secondary schools. Each year over 90% of the pupils who finish primary school are denied the opportunity to continue with such kind of education for which they were prepared psychologically and attitudinally. For them only the limited private and vocational education sectors provide the possibility for finding wage employment.

Vocational education is still linked to employment in specific occupations as it was during the colonial period, providing the skilled labour requirements for various industries. But the wage employment sector in the underdeveloped economy of Tanzania is expanding very slowly, more slowly in fact than the expansion of the vocational education sector. In addition the feeling that vocational education is the last resort for obtaining wage employment for primary school leavers has created great pressure to increase the number of the available resources.

This pressure increased to such an extent that the responsible authorities were forced to take action in order to relieve it. The 16th TANU National Conference held in September, 1973 passed a resolution to expand technical and scientific education in order to speed up Rural Transformation. The government responded by planning to increase the number of vocational training institutions. Financing for these expanded technical education programmes was sought largely from national and international "development agencies" but funds were also solicited from other agencies, among these the CCT (Christian Council of Tanzania).

The Churches had been supporting large vocational education programmes in Tanzania for half a century and were still under pressure to expand further. The existing schools, however, have become a big financial burden for both the Tanzanian Churches and their European counterparts to bear. The construction of new training centres would require great financial inputs which would have to be carried almost entirely by the Donor Agencies of the European Churches.

In addition; the Churches' long experience in vocational education had shown them that the training which was offered benefitted only a privileged minority who in turn sought employment in the urban areas upon completion of their studies.

As a result the Churches were in the forefront in the search for "appropriate solutions" to the problems of rural vocational education. They helped to introduce the concept of "training for self-employment" and to develop such programmes as the "Village Polytechnics" (NCCK—Kenya) and "Youth Brigades" (Botswana) to fit the concept. Yet even these programmes inspite of their intentions did not produce the desired results. The expectations of both the students and their parents are still that the training will lead to wage employment.

The failure of vocational education programmes to serve the needs of the rural areas together with the request of the Tanzanian Government in the financing of new programmes combined to encourage the Churches to make a thorough evaluation of the contradictions and problems of rural vocational education in Tanzania. In October, 1974, The Annual Conference of the CCT and its Member Churches unanimously decided to undertake this research. All pending requests for assistance to vocational schools were to be stopped until the research project was completed and the results made explicit.

The research, therefore, examined the system of vocational education in relation to the educational system in general but fundamentally in relation to the prevailing social, political and economical conditions of the country. Before entering the section on the organization of the research it should be noted that this research was undertaken by a group of people who had neither previous experience in such research work nor the requisite academic qualifications for such work. By going ahead with the belief that they could discover the roots of the problems on the basis of faith in the people and sympathy for their problems, the research became a liberating experience. It is the researchers' conviction that such research must no longer be the monopoly of social scientists. Having broken this myth, research teams composed of peasants, workers, students, evangelists in the villages were formed to discuss each stage of the research process. At the moment these local researchers are the basis for concrete action to change the existing reality which they themselves have helped to unravel. Their functions will be shown later.

Although the research was carried out within an existing institutional framework, the CCT and its Member Churches which obliged the researchers to work within a rigid bureaucracy, there was still an advantage, finally, of providing an institutional basis for research continuity and action.

It is important to note that the research was not completed by the writing of the report but that it is still going on even today, for what was discovered was simply a reflection of vocational education problems at national level. Deep study and analysis is the work of the research teams, now in the villages.

Organization of the Research

For reasons of convenience the research team chose an approach that started at the centre level (Dar es Salaam, Dodoma) and worked from here to the periphery (village). Information was first obtained at the Ministerial and headquarter level in Dar es Salaam and Dodoma. The second one was a Regional one followed by the third level, the District. The fourth level was the village where information was obtained directly from the training institutions.

The nature of the research & duration

The vocational system in Tanzania and especially its rural sector has never been thoroughly researched before. Due to this the research was to be exploratory one. It was thought initially that a deep research on this field would be a second step. Fundamentally, the research became documentary work, that was the systematic documentation of the rural vocational education system with its activities and opportunities.

It was through the initial familiarisation with the problem area which shall be outlined in section three, that the researchers became aware of the inadequacy of the original research objectives and hence had to change them.

The original duration assined to the research was one year but had to be extended by another year because of the extensive travelling involved, complexity of problems as well as shortage of permanent staff.

Aims and objectives of the research

The original aims and objectives were defined as follows:—

1) To enable the CCT to promote—especially for the deve-

lopment of Ujamaa villages—programmes which have an educational skill emphasis.

2) These programmes should be of such a nature as to have a potential to be multiplied on an extensive scale by authorities with greater resources.

In order to achieve the above objectives the researchers were assigned with the following tasks:-

1) To establish an advisory group of individuals, knowledgable about the issues and representing the important sectors of the state, Church and other agencies.
2) To become fully acquainted with the national policy on education and Ujamaa development.
3) To visit and study existing skill training programmes in Tanzania.
4) To visit skill learning programmes in nearby countries like the Village Polytechnics in Kenya and the Youth Brigades in Botswana.
5) To study research and written matter both National and International.
6) Finally to plan a National Workshop:
   a) to outline findings
   b) challenge the Churches to initiate innovation programmes might be.
   c) identify a limited number (2-4) of individuals and areas where such programmes might be developed.

Re-orientation of the aims and objectives

The experience gathered from a review of the relevant literature, informal interviews and field trips increased the level of understanding of the researchers considerably. It provided evidence for the argument that the original "aims and objectives" had been incorrect and misleading and needed re-orientation. Based on the more critical understanding, developed through familiarisation with the problem area, the new "aims and objectives" became:

> To analyse critically and contextually why the rural vocational education sector is not achieving its objectives of

training skilled manpower on a mass basis for the villages by
a) studying its socio-economic and political context.
b) studying the history of vocational education.
c) studying its organizational set up.

These new "aims and objectives" did not lead in the beginning to a change in the "direction of research" (centre—periphery) nor did they affect the non-participatory nature of the "Data Collection Methods." It was only after further politicization of the researchers that the methodologies were gradually changed into participatory ones.

The Problem area

The problem area of the research broadly defined was to become the Rural Vocational Education sector and its historical, socio-economic, political and organizational context.

Historically the research had to trace the development of vocational education and especially its rural component, since the early days of colonialism it had to find out what function vocational education had under colonialism, what structures it produced, what problems it faced and how this affects vocational education today.

Socio-economically, the research had to find out the function of vocational education in social reproduction of society to date. See how it relates to the important sectors of Rural Transformation, Industrialization, Formal Education and Employment. See how it is affected by the dependent and underdeveloped nature of the economy and the class structure of the society.

Politically, the research had to consider the contradictions between political theory and political practice. See of what nature they are and how they affect vocational education.

Organizationally, the research had to consider the existing set up and its problems. See to what extent coordination and cooperation is lacking. See of what nature the organizational set up is; what objective functions it has and how it affects vocational education.

Having undergone through the process of familiarization the research hypothesis was outlined as follows:

Research Hypothesis

a) The objectives of the rural vocational education sector, to train skilled manpower for the villages, cannot be achieved on a mass basis under the present conditions of economic underdevelopment and dependency.
b) Vocational education for rural areas neither serves, complies with, nor does it consolidate the policy of Ujamaa and self-reliance.
c) The problem of rural vocational education are structural ones reflecting the historical and material conditions of an underdeveloped and dependent society.
d) The system of vocational education in Tanzania favours a minority who are socially and economically better off and helps to perpetuate social stratification in society.

The above hypothesis became a line of action for the researchers who set out to prove it with the investigation. But in the process of doing so, it was necessary to work within a limited framework. At this point the researchers decided to call the areas not touched by research limitations of the research.

Research Limitation

Various limitations had to be imposed to the research in order to keep it in a homogeneous and manageble framework:

a) Training objectives—limited to only those institutions training for the rural sector.
b) Training levels—limitation was on the post-primary craftsmen level whereby allowance was made slightly for lower and higher levels.
c) Training subjects: with regard to training subjects the research limited itself to five major areas. These were Home Economics and Domestic Science, Vocational subjects, Technical subjects, Commercial Subjects and Agricultural subjects. Emphasis was put on the vocational and technical subjects which in practice very much overlap.

Training authorities covered by the sample were TAPA, SIDO, CHURCH, Ministry of National Education and others. Location of schools were both rural and urban (smaller rural towns).

The following section attempts to show the process of familiarisation; a process which is the axis of the study, since it demonstrates on the one hand how researchers gained clarity about the problems of underdevelopment and on the other, how a correct analytical framework was obtained which helped to correctly define the problems of vocational education.

Familiarisation

Familiarisation at the initial stages of the research was mainly a process of studying problems and remedies on the educational "Crisis." It took the form of reading and critiquing theories arising from other people's practice, books, manuals, journal and other relevant literature. Experience was also gained through informal/formal interviews with officials, students, peasants, and workers. Field trips contributed positively to the research. From here the researchers attempted to gain their own analytical framework by critically reviewing the different theoretical frameworks used by other research projects. At this point it was necessary to ask a question "what is a correct analytical framework? For the researchers analytical and theoretical frameworks were used interchangeably. It was discovered earlier by the researchers that the way a researcher relates to the people he is studying and the manner in which he gathers information how he uses it, all are derived from his particular conception of reality and causal effect. On top of this his particular historical class outlook greatly affects his research work. As a result the different theoretical frameworks analysed by the researchers reflected the class nature of the authors and their unsympathetic concern with the exploited classes.

Familiarization helped the researchers to discover that the level of analysis used by bourgeois researchers provided no explanation of the causes of the problems of vocational education but simply described problems or explained phenomena. Having done that, such researchers gave recommendations for reforms within the old structures and hence were basically not attacking the root causes of the problems. Relating the above argument to the specific study of vocational education, it was discovered that all recommendations about educational reforms for the developing nations, constantly being given by the International Agencies like the World Bank, UNESCO etc. through their researchers, are not aimed at attacking the root causes of the problems but rather prepetuating the conditions for underdevelopment and dependency.

Analytical Framework

In order to obtain a correct analytical framework opposed to other frameworks already criticised by the researchers; there was need to study the historical materialist methods of investigation. It was necessary to be clear under which world outlook the researchers were operating. A fact was established that usually the exploited perceived problems differently by virtue of their position and that there was need for them to have their own way of analysing problems. Examples were cited with the research teams about how landlords after doing research came up with recommendations that poor peasants could not raise production due to laziness and ignorance. It was concluded that if peasants were given a chance to give their recommendations, they could talk of how they are being subjected to long hours of work in the Landlord's farm and hence getting no time to produce for their own means of subsistence.

The researchers were convinced that no other method apart from the one derived from historical and materialist outlook could genuinely serve to help the oppressed and the exploited.

Materialist theoretical categories like studying of problems at their phenomenal, intermediate and essence levels were discovered and helped to build up a correct theoretical framework. Having collected a vast amount of information through documentation, interviews, field trips and observation, the task was to distinguish between the various levels of information. At the first level were those facts which portrayed only the most obvious and outward signs of the problem itself. The facts at this first level were called *appearances*. At the second level were other facts which were able to shed light on the reasons for some of the appearances but were unable to explain other appearances or to put all the facts into a concrete theory. These were called *intermediate causes*. Finally at the third level were the facts which could explain all of the above facts and establish a causal relationship among them. These were the *root causes* or the *essence* of the problems.

The researchers concluded that the appearances of the educational "crisis" were a result of the contradictions within the educational system (the intermediate causes). The intermediate causes are in turn derived from the Principal contradictions in society (essence) which expresses itself in terms of the opposites rich and poor, exploiters and exploited. Hence, the problems of education were a result of the major contradiction of international financial capital on the one hand and the exploited workers and peasants serving this capital on the other. Thus discovery of secondary and primary contradictions in the society helps to give a clear understanding about the problems and how to resolve them.

In short the theoretical framework derived from the historical and materialist outlook helped to analyse problems properly. By viewing society from the historical and materialist outlook it was possible to see the contradiction inherent in society and hence the essence of the problems.

Dissemination of the research findings

As mentioned in the introduction, the research findings were discussed extensively in a national workshop held in a village. Villagers presented their papers which complemented the findings of the research. These helped the workshop participants to relate the findings directly to the prevailing conditions of a village. The research findings indicated clearly that the given problems are concrete results of definite conditions in our society. They were interpreted as structural problems of an underdeveloped and dependent society that has neither yet succeeded in disengaging from international capitalism nor resolved its internal class contradictions. Given such interpretation of the underlying root causes of the problems it becomes difficult to perceive of easy and speedy remedies since the nature of our economical and social relations need to undergo drastic change. It was realized that any reforms within the given system will eventually only serve the reproduction of the old system itself.

How to Change

A question which was raised was "What next after the research at the national level has been accomplished?"

The researchers made it clear that they did not intend to impose remedies but wanted to provide the ground work for a better uderstanding of the problems, promote rational debate and facilitate remedial actions by the people directly affected. Recommendations and ways for implementation resulting from the research were formulated by a special committee of Church Officials who studied the research report.

Since early 1976 concrete attempts were made to decentralize the research to the grassroots, i.e. basically to those people in the villages that are mostly affected by the problems of rural vocational education. Such a strategy of grassroot participation in research work developed out of the researchers realization that one can hardly research for other people, especially if he belongs to a different social stratum and hence does not share their real interests. Secondly it was realized since research aims further than at the interpretation of a reality, i.e. at actions to change that reality, the people who suffer from that reality must be involved.

It was necessary to initiate local research teams in the Diocese and Synods. These are composed of direct producers like poor and middle peasants, poor village craftsmen as well as pastors and evangelists. What these teams are mainly doing is to concretize the CCT research done at National level in their local contexts. There are now 18 contact teams but very few are active due to problems ranging from bureaucracy and time especially when members are most of the time involved in production.

All existing teams still need more official backing from both Diocese/Synod and the Government in order to go about their work smoothly and easily. The entire concept of the grass-roots researching their own problems is not yet everywhere accepted and it has been very difficult sometimes to acquire their recognition in the village structures. Where they existed, suspicion persisted from conservatives both religious and political. As a result the work of the research teams is carried on very slowly.

Regular seminars at national and local levels provide platforms for charting out correct strategies, acquiring the basic research tools, exchanging experience and conceiving concrete actions. Experience from the previously held seminars proves that, turning the research to the grass roots is a correct strategy. Our involvement with these people has heightened both our revolutionary commitment as well as our revolutionary consciousness. Above all, the entire process is the very practice that our policy of socialism and self reliance is calling for.

Inter-pretation of the Recommendation to Practical Projects
Despite the continuing dialogue with the Party and the Government institutions on the recommendations of the research, the Church decided to go ahead with implementing those research recommendations that can be done with the human and material resources of the Churches. For this purpose another workshop was held in June, 1978, composed of research teams, Government Officials and research advisors.

The workshop combined theory and practice by allocating time for fieldwork in five villages thus giving the participants a chance to check the Official conclusions and recommendations once more against the concrete conditions in the villages. The Workshop came up with projects aimed at transforming our economic base. An action plan for the contact teams was formed to test for the viability of the proposed projects in their local contexts. On top of this, two Church vocational schools and an area without a school were chosen to serve as pilot projects implementing the research recommendations. Meanwhile feasibility studies are being carried out by the research teams within the selected pilot project areas, and their functions are as follows:

(a) To produce a careful analysis and interpretation of the root causes of the problems in Vocational Education in their particular area.
(b) To produce a careful analysis and interpretation of the root causes of the particular problems of Church Vocational Schools in their area and to become involved in the assessment of new vocational education projects.
(c) To acquire and master the methods of scientific research work and apply them for all basic research and evaluation

required by the Dioceses and Synods for their development services.

(d) To develop long term strategies for action of the villagers and the Churches that can successfully attack the root causes of the problems in the local, national and international context.

(e) To develop particular short and long term strategies for the rectification of the problems in their Church Vocational Schools aiming at making these schools serve the rural masses and rural production.

(f) To embark on a permanent dissemination programme among the rural producers and the various levels of the Church leadership.

(g) To embark on a permanent conscientisation programme among the rural producers and the Church leadership that goes beyond the issue of rural vocational education and makes underdevelopment and its total liberation its main topics.

The above can only materialize through the active struggle of the team members themselves.

Paternalistic protection or support from the top can only help to make the teams dependent and submissive.

The outside protection and support is carefully weighed in relation to the teams in order to bring about fuller control by the villagers over their own reality and lives.

How has the community benefited?

It is premature to evaluate how far the people have benefited from the research. In fact, so far the process of forming these teams has not effectively been understood everywhere. With the understaffed research team at the CCT (2 members) level the work is so gigantic that quick results can hardly be achieved soon.

Critical Remarks about the Research

It has to be noted that the method used by the researchers was branded unscientific, invalid and unrealistic. During dissemination of the findings researchers were accused by the vocational education bureaucrats of having no academic qualifications. The research was accused of being too political and dangerous. Some of the World Bank officials said the method used and proposals given were too unrealistic to the conditions of underdeveloped countries.

The research teams were seen as composed of people too incapable and ignorant to enter into the field of research and as a result they face problems due to their confrontation with the bureaucracy. Reactionary elements combined forces to discourage the approach. Even at this particular moment in time, policy makers on vocational education have completely ignored the CCT research and its grassroot strategy. The policy makers are comfortable with the reforms recommended by the World Bank and other Agencies.

Reviewing the situation as it is, how can one involve the affected people themselves in discovering their problems both objectively and subjectively? Is there any other way of building structures and strategies for action beyond interpretation of our socio-economic reality?

Case Study 3

The Use of Popular Theatre for Adult Education in Botswana and its Relation to the Concept of Participatory Research

Ziki Kraai, Bob Mackenzie
and Frank Youngman

Introduction

This case study has four sections. In the first we show how the origins of popular theatre are similar to those of participatory research and we show that this has led to significant parallels. In the second we describe the development of popular theatre as an adult education approach and in the third we analyze aspects of the experience of the last five years. Finally we look at the relationship between popular theatre and participatory research. It should be noted that we do not consider the technical aspects of popular theatre, such as the uses of different performance media.

The concept of participatory research

The concept of participatory research has been elaborated in a number of articles by Budd Hall since 1975.[1] He has recently defined it as:

> 'a three-pronged activity: a *method* of social investigation involving the full participation of the community; an educational process; and a means of taking *action* for development.'[2]

Hall says that in its ideal form its essential components are:

- it involves the community actively in the research process;
- the subject of the research originates in the community and the problem is defined, analyzed and solved by the community;
- the process is designed to lead to community mobilisation and self-reliance and thereby to changes that directly benefit the community;
- the researcher is a committed participant working with the powerless;
- the research process has a historical perspective and is a dialogue over time rather than a static analysis of one point in time.

As an approach to research in adult education it has its origins in dissatisfaction with the prevailing quantitative methods that had come to dominate educational research in the 1960's. The search for an alternative research approach was influenced by changing ideas on development, by a growing awareness of the political functions of the social sciences and of education, and by adult education principles. Important factors were the writings of Paulo Freire and the development policies of Tanzania.

The origins of popular theatre

Popular theatre began in Botswana in 1974 with a programme that was called 'Laedza Batanani.' The idea came from Ross Kidd, an expatriate adult educator working for the University in the northern part of the country (the Bokalaka). The origins are described by him in the first publication on popular theatre in Botswana[3]:

> 'Laedza Batanani developed out of a concern to deal with the problems in the Bokalaka of limited community effort, low participation in public meetings, and apathy or indifference to government extension programmes. There was a desire to make a fresh attempt to involve people in their own development, to substitute self-reliance, participation, and co-operative action for over-dependence on government and excessive individualism.

> The twin goals of participation and self-reliance called for a way of bringing people together to discuss their problems, agree on changes that needed to be made and then take collective action. This goal of people meeting and working together is summarised in the slogan 'Laedza Batanani': 'The sun is already up. It's time to come and work together.' A forum for this sort of activity has traditionally been provided by the 'kgotla'*. What was a way of breaking through the indifference towards kgotla meetings, helping to revive this forum as a major focus for community decision-making and action.
>
> It was felt that traditional methods used by extension workers were inappropriate for this task. Extension workers** are more concerned with providing services (e.g. health care, dehorning cattle) and information than with motivating people for active participation in their own development.
>
> Their messages are often based on external prescriptions, rather than a local assessment of needs and demands. Their messages and work are seldom co-ordinated—each officer works in isolation preaching the narrow message of his own department. Few participate in their programme, for example, the agricultural and health clienteles are largely restricted to Master and Pupil Farmers and those who attend the clinic.'

Faced by these problems, Ross Kidd decided to experiment with an adult education method that would use theatre and small group discussion and would develop a joint inter-agency approach to extension work. The idea of using folk media came from a UNESCO/IPPF conference in 1972 which had advocated the use of folk media in family planning communication programmes.

Popular theatre arose as an attempt to overcome specific problems in northern Botswana that were making adult education and development policies ineffective. The thinking behind the experiment was shaped by the ideas on education and development that were current in the mid-1970's, particularly those expressed in the writings of Freire and Nyerere. Some of the intellectual origins of popular theatre are therefore the same as those of participatory research. For this reason there are significant parallels between participatory research and popular theatre. However, popular theatre is not a research approach.[4] It has evolved in the search for a more effective adult education method and therefore lies within the broad tradition of adult education, which is a different historical tradition to that of social research.

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*The 'Kgotla' is the traditional meeting place in the village.

**Extension workers are the nation-wide network of village-level workers who carry out adult education for the different government ministries and district councils. Most important are the agricultural demonstrators, the family welfare educators and the community development workers.

Popular Theatre

A definition

'Popular Theatre' is the term for a variety of different kinds of performance which are used as a method of adult education. The media used for these performances in Botswana have been drama, puppetry, songs and dances. It is called '*popular* theatre' because it deliberately aims to appeal to everybody, not just the educated elite. Performances take place usually in the open air and use the language of the area. The content of the performances normally refers to the situation in the area. Audience participation in singing and dancing is encouraged and after the performance the audience is invited to discuss the issues raised and consider action to solve problems.

The term was coined in Botswana in 1976 because it was felt that 'folk media' was not accurate, as drama and puppetry were not indigenous performing arts. The term has now come to cover a very wide range of activities, from a family welfare educator doing a simple puppet show for mothers at a clinic to a week long community festival. The common denominator of these activities is that they use entertainment for education. They bring fun, excitement and a release of creativity in an effort to engage people in more active and aware participation in community affairs.

The development of popular theatre[5]

The use of theatre for adult education in Botswana began in the early 1970's with sketches at meetings of health workers. Theatre was first used as the main medium of an educational campaign in 1974 in 'Laedza Batanani.' After two experimental 'Laedza Batanani' programmes, the idea was introduced in other parts of the country, beginning with 'Bosele Tshwaraganang' in Mochudi in December 1976.

Further experimental programmes took place in 1977 and the uses of popular theatre were diversified. For example, puppet shows were used by Agricultural Information Services and the Rural Industries Innovation Centre, drama was used in the Botswana Extension College's Literacy Project. The popular theatre method gained credibility and official recognition as an interesting adult education approach. A national co-ordinating commitee was established—the Popular Theatre Committee. It stressed that the approach could not work in isolation but must be used where appropriate in an overall educational programme.

The end of experimental phase came when the Popular Theatre Committee organized a National Popular Theatre Workshop in May 1978. This brought together 60 extension workers from all over the country and introduced them to the approach and the skills involved. At the same time the University's Institute of Adult Education appointed a Lecturer to work full time on the development of popular theatre.

In the year since the national workshop there has been a great increase in popular theatre activities. Several areas have established popular theatre committees and the national committee (named in Setswana Lekgotla La Bosele Tshwaraganang) has become a more representative body with members from different districts as well as central agencies. There has been an increase in the number of small-scale uses, such as at Lobatse hospital open day and in Odi Weavers Factory. There have also been more large-scale programmes, particularly weak-long community campaigns, such as in Kalamare and Ratholo. These activities have been supported by an improved training programme.

The popular theatre process

The diversity of people using popular theatre and of situations in which it is used make it impossible to say that there is a simple formula. However, a basic process can be identified. It has discernible stages:

Planning
Research
Problem selection and analysis
Performance Preparation
Performance
Discussion
Follow-up action

These stages can take place over varying lengths of time and can have different levels of complexity. In general, the decision at the planning stage to undertake a popular theatre programme is taken by either a team of extension workers from different agencies (at district level or village level) or by an individual extension agency. The choice of popular theatre is made in order to meet their educational objectives. For example, a district team might feel that one area has been neglected by extension workers and should experience some educational activity, or a group of health educators might regard popular theatre as an appropriate way of communicating information about nutrition. The decision to use popular theatre on the whole originates outside the community in which it is used. The content of the programmes is also often decided outside the community.

The planning stage is followed by the research stage, about which more is said below. At this stage either the community identifies several issues itself or, as more frequently happens, the organisers investigate local knowledge, attitudes and practice about the theme they have already chosen. After this research, the problems for presentation are selected and analysed and then the performance is prepared. Generally, the performers are the same group of extension workers who have been organizing the programme. But a significant development in the last years (particularly in 'Laedza Batanani' in 1978 and at Kalamare and Ratholo in 1979) has been the increasing number of ordinary villagers who have become involved in preparing and producing the performance.

The performance itself may be simply a short puppet show or it might be a two hour multi-media event with puppets, plays, songs and dances. Its aim is to present relevant social issues and problems in an entertaining way that will act as a catalyst for discussion and action. Although Western concepts of presentation have tended to dominate in the past, expatriates working with popular theatre programmes are increasingly accepting indigenous attitudes to, say, the use of space in the stage area and verbal presentation of themes rather than their demonstration through action. Stress has been laid on performances being at a simple level of equipment and technical skill so that the method is as accessible as possible. For example, all performances are unscripted and the actors improvise within an agreed story-line. Probably the most complicated technical skills are making and using puppets. Training has concentrated on giving people an understanding of the educational process rather than theatre techniques.

The performance, which can attract an audience of hundreds, is immediately followed by small group discussions which the actors organize. The groups then form a plenary discussion in which an attempt is made to clarify problems and decide on forms of co-operative action. Because local action is the aim of the whole programme, every effort is made to involve the local extension workers, teachers, and leaders who could take responsibility for follow-up action.

The final stage is for the extension workers to follow up decisions taken by the audience after the performance. This can be done by further educational efforts, provision of expertise, supply of resources (e.g. seeds), and other assistance to people trying to implement decisions (e.g. committees).

The research stage

The popular theatre process starts with a research stage in which information is gathered in order to identify issues and problems and to provide local detail for dramatising them. This stage can involve a totally open-ended approach, in which the community itself raises the problems and specifies their context; or it can involve an outside agency which has already identified a problem (say, bilharzia) gathering information so that the problem can be clearly situated in its local context.

Two main ways have been used to gather information at this research stage. One has been to bring village representatives together for a community workshop of one or two days. The other is to hold discussions with organized groups (such as a kgotla meeting or village development committee) and to conduct interviews with individuals and informal groups of people. Organizing this stage of the process has developed over the years through experience and we give for examples below :

1. Mochudi 1976

The programme undertaken in Mochudi in 1976 was closely modelled on the experience gained in 'Laedza Batanani' and was the first major popular theatre programme outside the Bokalaka area. The decision to hold the programme was taken by the Kgatleng District Extension Team (which included district heads of extension services and other district officers).

The programme started with a one-day community workshop. 70 people came to the workshop in order to learn about popular theatre and identify social issues in Mochudi which could be dealt with in a popular theatre campaign. The participants were extension workers, teachers, village development committee members and representatives of voluntary organizations. After a demonstration, they held group discussions and then reported to the plenary session on the problems they perceived as most important in the village. A list of twenty-eight issues was produced (See Appendix 1).

The community workshop was followed by a two-day actors workshop. This was attended by extension workers and head teachers and was directed by staff from the Botswana Extension College and the University. This group took the list of problems identified previously and chose the most important according to the following criteria suggested by organisers:

—the relative importance given to problems by the previous workshop;

—the relevance of the problem to the season (e.g. the problem of bush fires was rejected because it was the rainy season);

—the need for the problem to be specific rather than general;
—the potential for action that could actually change the situation.

The group decided to have a puppet show focussing on rubbish disposal and latrines, and a family drama including V.D., drunkenness and poor attendance at meetings. The actors then analyzed these problems in terms of their understanding of people's knowledge, attitudes and practice so that they could clarify messages and dramatize them realistically.

2. *Lentswe Le Tau 1978*

Lentswe Le Tau is a small village of about 700 people in the Kweneng District. It was visited by a team of participants from the National Popular Theatre Workshop who intended to perform there a few days later. The decision to visit the village was taken by the workshop organisers. The information-gathering took one day. Firstly, the team met at the kgotla where a meeting had been called specially by the chief. After explaining the purpose of the visit the team divided the meeting into small groups of ten and held discussions in these small groups. These group interviews took about two hours and afterwards the villagers dispersed.

The team then gathered together and discussed their results. The group interviews had elicited some major problems. The team decided to divide into groups of two and three to find out more about the problems and about local details. These small groups each had a different task. One group had to interview the shopkeepers and another the beer-brewers. One group had to find out more about the legend of the snake in the local caves and another had to get an understanding of the village's geography. This took another four hours.

The next day, at the workshop, the team prepared a performance based on their analysis of the problems and on the contextual details they had found out. The main theme of the play was that the village had recognized its social problems (such as migrant labourers drinking at shebeens and causing violence) but had not yet achieved the unity necessary to solve them (because of tensions between the chief and the councillor). The possibility of a co-operative project, such as a community centre, was suggested.

3. *Gaborone 1978-79*

Gaborone Town Council has a Self Help Housing Agency (SHHA) which is responsible for upgrading the squatter area of Old Naledi into a legal 'site and service' housing area. The upgrading project's implementation is monitored by a monthly meeting of SHHA staff, the Town Councillor for Old Naledi, and the elected representatives from the Ward Development Committee. These meetings act as a forum for dialogue between the Town Council and the people of Old Naledi. Often the SHHA staff use performances (including drama, songs, dances and poetry) to explain issues to committee members and to act as a catalyst for discussion in the meeting. This helps the members to understand each step of the upgrading project, so that they can be a more effective link between the people of the area and the SHHA staff.

Because the small-scale use of theatre in these meetings proved successful for conveying information, SHHA decided to use the technique for a public information campaign on the complex topic of the Certificate of Rights. The issue of Certificates of Rights is a crucial stage in the upgrading project because it provides leases for housing plots, thus giving the squatters legal rights to their land. But the change in status to a site and service area means that the residents have obligations (such as service levies) and it has also meant a certain amount of dislocation as plots have been regularized and some cleared for roadways. SHHA decided to use popular theatre to explain what was happening and to clarify the people's new rights and obligations. To research people's attitudes and levels of knowledge, a 10% stratified sample of one ward was taken and this sample population was formally interviewed. The findings were analyzed by SHHA staff and used by them to prepare a performance to be put on in in each ward in the area.

4. *Kalamare 1979*

The Mahalapye Development Trust and the University brought together an inter-agency team of extension workers to undertake a joint community project in which popular theatre would be used first to expose social issues and then to monitor community action on them. It was decided to hold the first part of the project in Kalamare, where the sub-chief was keen to have a workshop.

The visiting team of outsiders consisted of eleven people. They gave a demonstration of popular theatre to the villagers and got volunteers from the village to join them. The next day, the team split into groups of three, each with a local villager, and went to interview people in different wards of the village.

A list of 18 issues was collected (See Appendix 2). Then the participants split into two large groups, which each chose issues from the list and dramatized them using local details. One drama was about poor attendance at meetings, the other about the need for more transport and better medical facilities.

These four examples show how research is undertaken for popular theatre and how it fits into the overall process.

Problems and issues in Popular Theatre

Popular theatre has evolved as a method of adult education which as a process has similarities with the participatory research process outlined in the introduction. In this section we analyse some of the problems and issues in popular theatre that we think will be of particular interest to users of participatory research. The last five years has been a period of activism rather than reflection and parts of our analysis are tentative and indicate the need for further investigation and consideration.

Participation

There are three groups of people currently involved in popular theatre activities—expatriate adult educators and district government officials, extension workers, and ordinary people.

The participation of each group has been different and is undergoing changes.

The expatriates, such as adult educators working at the University and district-level Planning officers, played a crucial role in the early development of popular theatre. They were involved actively in planning and implementing programmes. They have become less directly important but continue to have a significant training function and a role in the development of the process.

The extension workers at district and village-level have always been directly involved in implementing programmes. They have now taken control of planning and organising programmes and are beginning to take a part in training others as they build up their own experience.

Ordinary villagers have always been involved in providing information, and in participating as the audience and as the people discussing problems and taking action to solve them. Increasingly they are also taking a part in organising programmes, in acting as researchers, and in performances. They have not yet taken control of the popular theatre process as a whole and only rarely have they taken the initiative in deciding to have a programme. (Exceptions include the Bokalaka area where the fame of 'Laedza Batanani' has spread over the years so that villages have asked to be included, and the Odi Weavers Factory where worker-directors decided that popular theatre could help the factory discuss its management problems). Exactly who in a community does get involved has not yet been analyzed. Certainly, village leaders dominate and there are tendencies to exclude ethnic minorities. However, we cannot yet say which section of the community will dominate when the process is more under community control.

Effectiveness

Evaluating popular theatre is a complex task and work is currently being undertaken by the University's Institute of Adult Education to develop ways of doing it. However, it seems reasonable to say that effectiveness must be assessed in terms of its aims. In general, popular theatre has the aim of getting people to participate in an educational process that will lead to action to solve problems. Within this general aim, more specific objective can be identified.

Participation as an objective means trying to involve the community as much as possible at all stages in the process. For example, it means villagers working as researchers and actors; it means attracting a large audience whose interest and attention is captured; it means people coming together to take action.

Education has as objectives developing people's awareness and knowledge of social problems and how they might solve them; and developing people's understanding of the popular theatre process. It requires a performance which reflects the local situation and provides accurate technical information. It also requires well-run post-performance discussion to clarify issues and fill knowledge gaps. And it values the expressive functions of popular theatre, which can bring creative entertainment and an assertion of culture and identity.

Action as an aim requires observable outcomes from the total popular theatre programme. Specific objectives are that individuals do something to change their situation (e.g. hiring their vehicles out in Kalamare to challenge the transport monopoly; or referring themselves to the clinic in Mochudi for a V.D. check-up) or that community groups undertake co-operative projects (e.g. developing a water filtering system). Also, it means the extension workers should follow up the performance and discussion stage in ways that will encourage action.

The evidence of observation and practical experience is that many of these aims and objectives are achieved. Community participation is increasing (as at Kalamare and Ratholo) and large, interested audiences have always been attracted and keen to discuss what they have seen. Most performances are applauded for their relevance, and the organisation of post-performance discussion is improving.

Some aims are difficult to assess. It is hard to say if awareness has been heightened. The fun and enjoyment of popular theatre for all concerned cannot be quantified. However, a number of important problem areas can be identified, in which some of the many aims of popular theatre are clearly not being achieved. The two most important are in the areas of education and action.

The success of the popular theatre process in teaching people about specific areas of knowledge (such as the causes of bilharzia and how it can be cured) has not been established. Certainly, learning needs reinforcement and too often the excitement of the performance takes all the attention, so that it becomes something in itself rather than a catalyst to raise interest and lead on to another stage of learning in order to act. On occasion handouts have been distributed to the audience to back up information given in the performance. But on the whole the place of the performance event in the overall educational programme has often been poorly understood. Also, some technical subjects, like bilharzia, raise questions beyond the expertise of the village-level worker and audience discussion can lead to false information being given.

These educational problems are not unique to popular theatre but the large numbers involved exacerbate the problems. What is unique to popular theatre is the novelty and interest of the medium itself and this does sometimes distract the audience from the message, as at Mochudi in 1976.

The other major problem area, which popular theatre also shares with other adult education activities, is how to move from the stage of discussion and learning to actual action for change. There are some examples of action that can be directly linked to popular theatre programmes, e.g. individuals borrowing from the Odi Weavers Factory's community fund after it has been advertised by popular theatre, e.g. a group starting a communal water filtering system after a programme by the Rural Industries Innovation Centre.

But on the whole, little immediate action can be discerned. This can be attributed to two factors. The first is that suggested technical solutions are often inappropriate—for example, the programme in Mochudi 1976 advocated pit latrines in an area in which the rock bed makes them prohibitively expensive. The second is a lack of understanding of the social and political constraints on individual and collective action for change, a problem we look at below.

The social and political context

The kind of problems that people perceive in their communities and which are identified during the research stage of popular theatre can be seen in the two appendices. Many of these are in fact the product of deep-rooted structural causes, particularly the migrant labour system and the transition from traditional to modern authority.

Botswana's underdevelopment is a direct product of the colonial period which lasted from 1885 to 1966. During this time the the country was incorporated into the economy of the Southern African region whose centre is South Africa. Botswana's own development was restricted so that investment was concentrated in the development of South Africa's mines, farms and manufacturing enterprises. From the 1890's, Botswana became a source of cheap, unskilled migrant labour. This has profoundly affected Botswana's society and continues to do so, with half the young men in some areas away from home. By taking young men away, the system has reduced agricultural productivity and disrupted traditional social organisation, particularly kinship obligations.

Many of the problems communities list have their origins in the migrant labour system, both generalised problems, such as poverty and rural unemployment, and specific problems like drunkenness and widespread venereal disease. In popular theatre performances the returned miner, given to drinking and womanising, is a frequent character and this is a reflection of the social significance of migrant labour.

There is also a conflict between modern political structures (such as district councils and village development committees) and traditional structures (such as chieftainship and the kgotla). Botswana is in a transitional phase in which the power of the chiefs is being eroded (for example, the Government took away their right to allocate land in 1968) and forms of representative democracy are being established. The conflict between hierarchical, authoritarian power and democratic, representative power is as yet unresolved, particularly as many politicians derive their personal power from traditional authority. This leads to apathy and intertia at the village level, with people neither attending kgotla meetings nor village development committee meetings.

These two examples indicate the complex historical origins of many problems. Communities tend to identify the problems on the surface and point to, say, the personality conflict between a chief and a councillor, without recognising the structural causes of the local problem. Too often the popular theatre process remains at a superficial level of analysis, and this has led to unrealistic proposals for action which have not considered what can actually be changed at the community level.

Those of us involved in popular theatre have generally aimed for action for change without analysing clearly enough the situation in which change is to take place. We have advocated forms of action, such as co-operation and voluntary contributions of labour, which ignore the historical processes that the diminished traditional forms of co-operation (such as tribal regiments) and have increased individualism and concern for cash rewards. There is particularly a contradiction in advocating self-help when government policies such as giving food for work in drought periods and massive provision of physical facilities have encouraged a concept of development that regards government action as the source of change. It may also be unrealistic to expect collective action leading to change to take place when local leadership is both ambiguous and ambivalent. In many situations, the people may remain inactive should originate.

In this respect we have not given enough attention to community power structures and analysed which interests will support change and which will oppose it. This is not to say that those working with popular theatre are alone in their problem of failing to generate action. All educational activities are constrained by the particular political context in which they operate. What is needed is a more realistic understanding of the parameters of change and the factors leading to change. For example, it is simplistic to think that more knowledge can, of itself, lead to change. A person may fully understand the benefit of ploughing early but not have access to the necessary draft power. His inability to act in a different way is therefore a product of the social distribution of wealth rather than personal levels of knowledge and understanding.

The implication of this is that popular theatre needs to take a longerterm perspective in its objective of action for change. It has tended to be superficial in its approach and to think that one performance and discussion will make an immediate difference. Three refinements of its use would be helpful. First, a more explict concern during the research, problem analysis, and performance preparation stages with understanding the historical origins of problems and with assessing the possibilities for change. (This means, for example, refining the criteria for choosing what to dramatise). Secondly, it could apply the experience from Ghana of using popular theatre repeatedly in order to analyse the problems of implementing action proposals. This has been suggested in Kalamare, where the team intends to return in six months to start a process of assessment. In this way greater awareness would be generated and make the possibilities of future action better.

Thirdly, popular theatre needs to be more carefully fitted into a wider programme for use at a point at which its capacity to generate excitement and participation could have the maximum effect.

The role of the outsider

The argument above suggests that the role of outsiders bringing popular theatre to a community needs careful consideration, as they bring a new element into the social situation. Especially as the decision to undertake a popular theatre programme is rarely taken by a community.

The decision to use popular theatre has in the past been significantly influenced by expatriate adult educators and district planners. It is now increasingly taken by the district-level popular theatre committees which come under the national committee, Lekgotla La Bosele Tshwaraganang. The district committees are composed of extension workers with popular theatre experience, and are often senior staff rather than village-level workers. It is therefore extension workers, whether they work at community level or not, who are the most important 'outsiders' in relation to the ordinary people in the community.

Extension workers are civil servants and form part of the country's educated elite. They are perceived as outsiders by the communities they work in and this is often reinforced by their professional attitudes in implementing government policies. Because of their crucial role in the popular theatre process, these attitudes play a significant part in shaping the content and presentation of performance. An example is health issues. When there are health themes, the dramas often attack traditional medicine because the extension workers' general education and professional training inclines them to denigrate traditional practices. Similarly, their modern views can cause offence to audiences, as in the treatment of the V.D. theme in Mochudi in 1976 which showed condoms on stage.

Not enough attention has been given to the relationship between the popular theatre team and the community. Participation as a goal implies community involvement in decision-making (in this it is quantitatively different from the goal of consultation) but as yet the relationship between the outsiders and the community has been unequal, with the extension workers having much more power in the popular theatre process. A modest initial objective of popular theatre has been to encourage extension workers to 'start where people are,' to take care to understand people's perceptions of the world and to build on the knowledge they have when designing educational programmes. But the wider aim of participation demands greater concern with the issue of who controls the various stages of the popular theatre process.

Popular Theatre and Participatory Research

In the previous sections we have described the popular theatre process and analysed some of its aspects. We now consider the relationship between popular theatre and participatory research. We regard them as two distinct activities although there are many parallels in purpose and method. In order to explore further the relationship we have made a comparison of the stages in each process, which clarifies some of the similarities and differences.

Similarities and Differences
The following table is based on our description of popular theatre above and Swantz's description of the steps in participatory research in her paper 'Participatory Research—An Educational Approach to Development Studies.'

Stage	*Popular Theatre*	*Participatory Research*
1.	Planning	
2.	Research	Identifying the problems and learning to understand the concepts of the people
3.	Problem selection	Analyzing the data in relation to the practical problem at hand.
4.	Performance preparation	Relating the people's concepts and values to a theoretical framework and to generalisations for policy.
5.	Performance	Translating the research findings into language meaningful to the people in practical terms.
6.	Discussion	Getting feedback and learning from people's reactions.
7.	Follow-up action	

Stage 1
The initiative for a popular theatre programme generally comes from outside the community and planning decisions are taken by the team of outsiders which is organising the programme. It is unclear from the literature where decisions to do participatory research are taken and what role the community takes in planning.

Stage 2
The methods used at the research stage of popular theatre include community workshops and group and individual interviews. Sometimes this involves survey techniques, such as the interviews with a random sample of the population used by the Gaborone Self Help Housing Agency. This use of both quantitative and qualitative techniques is found in the work of Swantz although some writers on participatory research tend to

see no place for survey approaches. Both popular theatre and participatory research aim to understand problems from the viewpoint of the community.

Stage 3

After the research stage of popular theatre, if the approach has been open-ended, a selection is made from the identified problems according to criteria such as the potential for local solution. This sifting of the information is usually in the control of the extension workers, though community participation in the process is increasing. Examples of participatory research such as the village grain storage project in Tanzania,[7] indicate that a similar process of interaction between the research team and the community occurs. The experience of this stage, with its potential for dialogue, needs further analysis in both cases to clarify issues such as control and different modes of knowledge.

Stage 4

At this stage in popular theatre, the technical considerations of the scenario and the various media tend to dominate, though the general aim is to depict the chosen issues in a clear and direct way that will focus the audience's attention. This is very similar to the stage in the grain storage project when the villagers' ideas were codified in drawings. We think that dramatisations could be used in the participatory research process at this point, as an alternative to pictures or verbal reports.

A major difference occurs here when participatory research takes a wider view, and is concerned with a level of abstraction and generalisation that goes beyond popular theatre's more immediate aims. As Swantz suggests, in some cases the research will have aims beyond the immediate benefits to a particular community. This means the total research effort cannot all be focussed at the local level but must provide data for generalisations to inform national policies or to develop theoretical frameworks.

Stage 5

There is a close parallel at this stage when each activity attempts to return information and analysis to the community in a clear way that will suggest the need for practical action to solve problems.

Stage 6

Again at this stage both activities encourage discussion of the findings in order to develop awareness and analysis and to learn from people's reactions so that solutions emerge.

Stage 7

At this final stage in the popular theatre process it is intended that the community and its leaders will, with the help of the extension workers, undertake action to solve the identified problems. Similarly, the description of the village grain storage project indicates that a special committe was established to assist people.

This comparison of the stages in the two processes shows their similarities and differences. The most significant difference probably lies in the overall aims of the two activities. The concept of participatory research is one of a process involving people's participation in research, education and action. It is not clear which of these activities is accorded most significance in practice. Is immediate community action (such as building better grain stores) more important than gathering accurate data from which to make abstractions and generalisations? Does participation in itself have value irrespective of outcomes? What is the main aim of participatory research?

The situation is clearer in regard to popular theatre, which is also a participatory activity involving research, education and action. Research in itself is not important. It is used only to make the other activities more effective. Most significance has been given so far to the development of popular theatre as an educational method. There has been a concern to demonstrate that learning can be fun, that education can be people-centred, that more flexible and responsive approaches can be used for teaching and learning. In consequence, there has been a pre-occupation with technique and the aim of social action has been given too little weight.

To sum up, we can say that although popular theatre and participatory research share similarities as processes, there are differences in their aims and the significance given to them.

Some Conclusions

Popular theatre has evolved pragmatically. Although some of those involved have articulated the approach in terms of development theories and adult education principles, most of those actively engaged in implementing programmes have been more concerned with improving the techniques being used. The result has been that activity has taken precedence over analysis. This has been a necessary stage of evolution because it has provided the varied experience from which to draw hypotheses that can be tested by further experience.

In our case study, we have made some observations which we hope will make a contribution to further analytic work. We think that certain key questions need detailed consideration:

—who uses popular theatre and why?
—in what situations is popular theatre used?
—what part does popular theatre play in wider development programmes?
—in what way is popular theatre linked to individual and collective action?
—what are the constraints on action for change and on people's participation in development?

Some ideas on these questions arise from our case study. Further ideas arise from having considered popular theatre in relation to participatory research. For example, participatory research's emphasis on a dynamic, historical perspective seems to us very important, as does the concern with understanding the cognitive world of the community.

In turn, we think that the questions we have listed about popular theatre could well be asked of participatory research. We think that some of the waiting on participatory research underemphasises the effect of particular political and social contexts, both at the level of national policies and ideologies, and at the level of community stratifications and power structures. The political context in fact determines the options for tactics and strategies for change and by not stressing it participatory research writers sometimes appear to take a simplistic position on the role of the researchers. In the end, this is the most important question facing both participatory research and popular theatre—what part can the researcher and the adult educator play in achieving the ideal of people's participation in develepment?

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Appendix 1—Social Issues in Mochudi (1976)

General Issues

1. Unemployment, low incomes and high prices, poverty and destitution.
2. Marital and Family problems (jealousy, divorce, illegitimate children, overdrinking, disrespect by children).
3. Youth (lack of respect, unemployment, delinquency, crime, overdrinking).
4. Community Participation (poor meeting attendance, whipping in tribal court, poor co-operation between VDC and Councillor).
5. Lack of Facilities (roads, bridges, transport, wood, boreholes).

Agriculture

6. Ploughing too late and low acceptance of modern methods.
7. Chicken disease and rabid dogs.
8. Problems with bonus for cattle sold at Botswana Meat Commission.
9. Bush fires are widespread.
10. Few vegetable gardens.
11. No co-operatives.
12. Donkeys are mistreated.
13. Cattle and pigs are wandering around village.
14. Cattle theft.

Health

15. Lack of health facilities and services (no clinic, doctor, nurse or meat inspector).
16. Lack of basic health knowledge.
17. Water supply problems (dirty, no reticulation).
18. No latrines, dirty public toilet, dirty public rubbish bins.
19. Lack of fresh milk (no dairy) and vegetables.
20. Venereal disease widespread.
21. Road safety a problem—cars speed in village.

22. Drunkenness and dagga smoking.
23. Mental illness.
24. Dangerous trenches in village.

Education

25. Lack of classrooms, fencing, water supply.
26. Lack of and untrained teachers. Little teacher accommodation.
27. Not enough places for children.
28. Lack of co-operation between P.T.A.'s and head-teachers.

Appendix 2—Social Issues in Kalamare (1979)

1. The water supply—most people have to walk a long way to fetch water from the only tap in the village. So some use dangerously stagnant pools as their supply.
2. The clinic is totally inadequate and the Family Welfare Educator only treats children. A fully trained nurse who treats adults as well is necessary.
3. Transport is inadequate. The chief monopolises transport to Mahalapye. His fares are high.
4. There are no butcheries in the village.
5. There is no cafe.
6. There is a lot of poverty.
7. There is a need for a farmers' co-operative so that fertilisers and other goods are obtainable at a reasonable price.
8. The village needs a post office. At the moment post is delivered to the shop in a box, so anyone can read anyones' letter.
9. There is no place to buy cattle medicines.
10. The roads are bad in the rainy season.
11. There is a lot of unemployment.
12. Villagers are reluctant to attend kgotla meetings and courses held in the village.
13. Juvenile delinquency is high, especially among young girls who devote most of their time to parties.
14. Automatic promotion at school doesn't help the child's education.
15. The people are interested in self-help projects, but need help from the government as well.
16. There is a lack of bridges.
17. Parents do not have money for children after primary school and there is also no employment for such school-leavers.
18. Poor farmers have difficulty with ploughing—they don't have enough money to hire oxen or tractors.

Case Study 4

Demystifying Research: A Case Study of the Chiwanda Nutrition Education Project

Y.K.C. Masisi

Introduction

The Chiwanda Nutrition Education Project is one of the several participatory research projects conducted by the Institute of Adult Education (I.A.E.). The Institute of Adult Education is a Parastatal Organization that was established by an Act of Parliament in 1975. It is charged with the task of the "orderly development of non-formal education in Mainland Tanzania." Prior to its establishment as a body corporate, it functioned as an extramural studies wing of the University of Dar es Salaam. As such, its activities were based in favour of the urban elite. Nonetheless, there were other activities like mass campaigns that is carried out.

The urban bias of the Institute of Adult Education activities were punctuated by the 1975 decision to go rural. In that year, during its first Annual Conference in Tabora, the Institute of Adult Education felt that if it were to be an effective instrument for mass mobilization then, the main thrust of its activities should be in the rural sector where over 95% of the population lives.

At the time this decision was taken the Institute was also courting the idea of popular participation. By popular participation is meant the active involvement of a target population in handling whatever question affects it. But because it is not so easy to elicit the active participation of a passive peasantry the Institute had to look for ways and means of awakening and conscientizing the peasantry.

It is in the execution of such an intent that the Institute has organized and managed the famous Tanzania Mass Campaigns, the most recent of which is the "Chakula ni Uhai" (food is life) Mass Campaign of 1979. This campaign triggered intense discussions on the nature and extent of malnutrition in different parts of Tanzania. Some of such discussions uncovered latent developmental problems that existed but had never been recognised as such. The attempt to solve such problems has given rise to a number of educational-cum-economic projects of which Chiwanda is a case in point.

Chiwanda is a lacustrine ward along the eastern shores of lake Nyasa in the Southern part of Tanzania. It stretches along the lake for some 18 miles and for the whole of this length it is overlooked by the Livingstone mountain ranges which have a rain shadow effect on the area. The soils of the area are mainly sandy becoming sandy loams in the valley areas, while on the hill slopes the soils are scanty or even skeletal in places.

In this area live some 8,454 people divided unequally between five nucleated villages. A village is the lowest administrative unit for both the Party and Government structures in Tanzania. Each village has an elected chairman and a Secretary. The executive body to the village is a 25 member village council, with the village assembly as the highest authority in the village. Each village council operates through five committees, each committee consisting of five members of the council.

What follows is an account of the basic features of the Chiwanda Nutritional Education Project, an action research project in which a participatory model was used. It starts off by looking at the history and development of the project, the project design and acceptability, implementation and evaluation, and ends with a brief analysis of the research method used and implications for the future.

History and Development

This part of the case study attempts to depict the circumstances that led to the initiation of the project and the development phases of the project.

The Origin of the Project

Chiwanda farmers' education project is a child of the "Chakula ni Uhai" Campaign and the Institute of Adult Education is the midwife. This campaign is the largest radio study group campaign that we know of in Africa. It reached over 2 million people (Chakula ni Uhai Evaluation Report, Institute of Adult Education 1979). This campaign's objectives included, among others:

- to help the people find out which are the nutritious foods and how to obtain them;
- to help the people find out what is meant by a balanced diet and how to prepare a balanced meals;
- to help the people find out how to preserve foodstuffs;
- to help the people discuss the problem of malnutrition and how to go about it;
- to help people find out and discuss inhibiting food taboos and change their eating habits; and
- to help the people raise their functional literacy level.

In Chiwanda, like it was in most other areas in the country, the campaign used organized listening groups. Each group had an elected chairman, group recorder and a trained advisor (Hall, B.L.). The group operation was based on the dialogue principle. The ensuing discussions were intense and focussed on the problems of obtaining fruits, vegetables and protein—rich food stuffs as a means of getting a balanced diet, and in effect avoiding malnutrition caused diseases. Also discussed were the questions of raising improved breed chicks, growing of vegetables like spinach, tomatoes etc. from better seeds and how to enrich the soil using manure. These discussions were based on a study text book supported by a radio programme.

As a result, the Chiwanda people came to realize that they actually had been living with a problem, of malnutrition. This problem they said, needed action and immediate action. At this point they recognized further that to concretely tackle the problem they needed to be better equipped in terms of:

- more knowledge in food and nutrition

- more knowledge in skills for running farm enterprises.
- more knowledge in the practice of child care
- more knowledge in programme planning and management and
- more knowledge in basic skills like literacy and numeracy;

The Institute of Adult Education was then requested to facilitate the acquisition of more knowledge in the identified areas. It was the process of translating such needs into instructional objectives and their operationalization that gave birth to the Chiwanda Nutrition Education project.

The Objectives of the Project, Project Design and Acceptability
This section outlines the events as they occurred in the initiation and implementation of the project. It starts by stating the project objectives, and runs through the strategy adopted, to end with the implementation process.

The Project Objectives
The Institute on its part saw the project objectives to consist of:

- the provision of an adequate learning situation to the Chiwanda people for the acquisition of certain farm enterprise skills and nutritional knowledge.
- the reduction in the incidence of malnutrition caused diseases by the end of 1978.
- the institutionalization of the practice of taking a balanced diet in Chiwanda by 1978.
- the establishments of orchards, gardens and a poultry unit as learning centres for the project.

The Strategy Adopted
Since man cannot develop by proxy and at issue was a development problem, the Institute found it pertinent for the Chiwanda people to be instrumental in their own socio-economic development. Hence the need for their active participation as opposed to nominal participation.

So the first task for the Institute was to request the Chiwanda people to establish the Project Planning Team. The team was duly established and it comprised of:

- all the chairmen of the five project villages
- the U.W.T. representatives from the five villages
- the C.C.M. Ward Secretary
- the C.C.M. Divisional Secretary
- the Faculty members from Agriculture, Veterinary, Health, Education, Ujamaa and Cooperatives and the Institute of Adult Education.

The first task of this team was to re-examine the learning needs as had been identified by the study groups during the campaign discussions. The team was to execute this task with particular regard for relevance, priority and sequence.

In the ensuing discussions the team came up with the following sets of objectives:

i. the acquisition of skills and knowledge in:
  - project design, management and evaluation
  - vegetables and fruit growing
  - modern poultry farming

ii. the acquisition of knowledge in food and nutrition:
  - relationship between food and disease
  - malnutrition and its causes
  - the nutritive value of goods
  - the sources and functions of the main food constituents
  - meal planning
  - food requirements for different age groups and occupations
  - food storage
  - food cooking

iii. the institutionalization of self-evaluation

iv. the realization of farmers' own potentials in development.

But the team members noted further that for them to be effective in designing the project and its subsequent implementation, they needed to be helped in acquiring the skill of project formulation, implementation and evaluation. The Institute accepted that stand. The Institute accepted that stand because without knowledge of the subject at issue one is bound to be passive. And if one is passive then one is not participating. And yet success of rural projects is often a function of the degree to which the target group is involved in their formulation and subsequent implementation (Morse et al, 1973).

Project Design

The first major step in the conception of Chiwanda Nutrition Project was teaching the Chiwanda people the techniques of project planning, management and evaluation. One tutor, Mr. G.S. Haule, was asked to lead the discussions. Among the subjects discussed were:

- problem identification
- conducting a feasability study
- the logical framework method of project design, which includes such aspects as articulation of project goal, project purpose, project outputs and project inputs; the establishment of an implementation plan, and project evaluation.
- the establishment of project performance indicators at the time of design.
- the establishment of the assumptions that are likely to affect the causal linkages between the different levels of project expectations.
- construction and administration of simple questionnaire.

After these training sessions the Chiwanda people undertook an economic base study of the ward in an attempt to secure baseline data. The survey that they conducted used questionnaires constructed by the villagers themselves. The survey covered a total of 363 respondents. Of these 45 were from Mtipwili village, 41 from Matenje, 119 from Kwambe, 86 from Chimate and 70 from Ng'ombo.

The survey revealed, among other things, that of the 6,143 inhabitants:

- 1,319 were male adults
- 1,409 were female adults
- 3,515 were children
- 64.3% of the population was in the age range of 12—45
- 11.0% were above 60 years
- 27.0% were children under 5
- 85% of the adults were arable farmers
- 6.4% were fishermen

- Each household had on average of three hens, one rooster, two mango trees, and five banana plants; and
- the per capita income was below the national average of Ts. 600*

Implicit in the above figures is the marginal nature of the Chiwanda space economy. The project has therefore been a turning point in the socio-economic development of the area. For the first time the people saw that they were not only capable of analysing their own education but also could examine the nature of their economy. Besides that they also found themselves acquiring skills in the construction and administration of questionnaires, a domain hitherto monopolised by so called research experts.

They also were able to see their individual weaknesses. This last observation served as a motivating factor. The people who found themselves unable to fill the questionnaires independently saw in stark form the need for literacy skills.

It was after the acquisition of skills in project planning and making the economic base study that the Chiwanda people set themselves to the task of designing the production-cum-learning components of the Chiwanda nutrition project. The resulting project design can be seen in Appendix 1 of this paper.

From the design it can be seen that the main thrusts were to be in the areas of:

- fruit growing—each village was to establish a two acre communal garden of oranges interplanted with pineapples; in addition each household was to plant at least two orange trees in its backyard.
- vegetables growing—each village was to establish an acre of vegetables, besides a variety of vegetables to be grown by the individual households.
- poultry raising—a poultry unit was to be established for the whole ward, and depending upon the experience gained here, the unit was to be replicated in all five villages. The unit was to consist of layers and cockrel. The cocks were to be distributed to the individual households for mating with the

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*The National average is now estimated at Ts. 1,000 indigenous breeds, with the objective of upgrading the resident stock.

- training seminars—several training seminars were to be conducted in the project area. In such seminars, through discussion and action, farmers were to be exposed to new skills and techniques of production, preparation and preservation of food.

Thus the project was to consist of three basic units, namely an orchard, a poultry unit and a vegetable garden, with the intention being: the establishment of a fruit, vegetable and poultry production system and institutionalizing the practice of taking balanced meals in the project area. At this point one may be prompted to ask on what criteria were the three project components chosen.

The three project components were chosen because of a number of basic reasons:

- For the birds, for example, it was considered that they are easy to manage, given the low level of programme management skills that the clientele had. This was besides the fact that birds are easily adaptable to changing conditions. In addition, they are a good source of protein from both their meat and eggs. Their products—eggs—are easily stored under village level conditions, while the birds themselves are self storing until they are needed for slaughter.
- As for the vegetables it was felt that the two activities—poultry keeping and gardening—are symbiotic; the birds provide the manure which is extremely rich in plant nutrients, while the vegetable wastes provide good greens for the birds. Besides such advantages, these two things if properly used are a sure way of improving the nutritional status of the people and since both have a short maturation period, their feed back effect is almost immediate.
- Lastly, the three constituent parts were selected because of the belief that village level projects should of necessity be simple, quick yielding and easy to manage. In this respect, the poultry unit and gardens are easily established and they provide an easy means by which certain production skills and techniques can quickly be disseminated and acquired.

Project Acceptability

Having designed the project participatorily, the question of complete acceptance of the project and the total commitment of the people to its implementation still remained. To gain the masses' general acceptance of the plan of operation and commitment to its implementation, a series of meetings and discussions were held between the staff of the Institute and the Regional, District, Divisional and village level Party and Government functionaries. After these series of meetings, in which the scope and nature of the project were re-examined, a three-day seminar was conducted for 100 ten cell* leaders, the village executive committee and their respective chairmen. The seminar participants discussed among other things the proposed plan of action, and the financial, technical and political implications of the project.

Although the project had been designed in a participatory manner, such a seminar was necessary so as to avoid the pitfall of imposition. For field experience shows that: small farmers play a critical role in tailoring ideas to fit local conditions; act as experimenters by testing new technological packages; and their participation in decision making increases their willingness to make a commitment of increased labour and monetary inputs.

It was in appreciation of such facts that the Institute found it not only necessary but also appropriate to get as much participation of the Chiwanda Community as possible. This aspect will be explored further in a later section.

Project Implementation and Evaluation

As the project had an inbuilt evaluation programme, the time for commissioning of any one stage was also the time for assessing the performance of the preceeding stage. How this operated is the concern of this section.

Seminar One: Chiwanda Project Strategy

This seminar took place from the 9th to the 11th of November, 1975. Its objectives were

*A ten cell is the lowest Party Administrative unit in Tanzania. It comprises of ten neighbouring households, with a popularly elected leader, the Ten Cell Leader.

i. to guage the people's feelings as to the continued relevance of the project to them and

ii. to give each village another chance of scrutinizing the main design elements of the project. The aspects discussed included:

   - aims and objectives of the project
   - land clearing
   - how to make holes for orange trees
   - filling in the holes with manure before planting
   - where and how to obtain the seedlings.

At the end of the seminar each village commited itself to site selection and preparation ready for planting. These activities were undertaken by the people themselves with the Institute staff and the Agricultural extension workers advising where necessary.

By February 1976, the first orange tree seedling had arrived and planting commenced immediately. By the end of the month most planting had been done.

Seminars Two and Three: Fruit Garden Management and Poultry Keeping

These were conducted in the months of March and August, 1976 respectively. They focussed on scientific fruit gardening and poultry raising. Also discussed was the performance of the part that had been commissioned previously. The tutors in the seminars were the Institute staff and the Agricultural and Veterinary Extension workers for the area.

After the third seminar the Chiwanda people then embarked on the task of establishing the poultry unit. The poultry house was put up by the people themselves, with the veterinary officers giving the necessary technical advice as regards ground area per bird, ventilation, size of run and amount of shade appropriate for a semi-intensive poultry unit.

On the 17th of November 1976, a batch of 370 birds arrived at Chimate village, which had been selected for the unit because of its centrality. By January, 1977 the birds began laying eggs. By March, 1977 the birds were at a 55% laying efficiency.

Seminar Four : Food and Nutrition

Although the project was a nutrition one, instruction on nutrition education came this late by design. It was designed that nutritional instructions be undertaken when working materials are available. By February the event—egg laying-was established. One needed therefore to establish a system of egg distribution and utilization. Time was thus opportune for undertaking nutritional instructions.

The seminar was conducted in mid-February 1977 at two separate sites. The seminar participants were all the household heads (mother and father) in Chiwanda Ward. The participants focussed their discussions on such aspects as:

- the functions of food in the human body
- food nutrients and their sources
- eggs as an important source of protein
- why we need to eat eggs
- the consequences of not eating eggs or other protein-rich foods.
- the need for pregnant mothers and children to eat eggs regularly
- different egg recipes.

As regards the last aspect, II recipes were taught and demonstrated. After each teaching session the participants divided into practical groups all over the school compound (the seminar was conducted in two primary schools-Kwambe and Ng'ombo) to practice what they had learnt. During the practical sessions the participants proved so interested that it was even difficult to wind up some of the groups. At the end most of them requested for either the extension of the seminar for another day or two or to be given a second chance for a much longer period.

The teaching staff for the seminar were in the persons of two Primary School Domestic Science teachers; Adolfina and Maria Carvel both coming from local primary Schools. These ladies surprised the participants by how they were able to use the local foods to prepare very delicious meals. In the process the participants saw for themselves that they actually have the basic resources with which to prepare nutritious and palatable meals; all they needed were the relevant skills.

End of Project Status
What is the project status after two years of operation? The position of the Chiwanda project to date is summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1 : Chiwanda Project Status-March, 1977

Unit Village	Poultry No of Layers	Orchard Oranges (Acres)	Pineapples (Acres)	Vegetables (Acres)
1. Mtipwili		220 (2)	2376 (2)	1
2. Matenje		228 (2)	2376 (2)	1
3. Kwambe		237 (2)	2376 (2)	1
4. Chimate	300	240 (2)	2376 (2)	1
5. Ng'ombo		216 (2)	2376 (2)	1

(Number in brackets indicates number of acres as per March 1977).

Table 1 indicates that by March 1977, each village had two acres of orange trees and pineapples and an acre of vegetables. The table shows further that there were 300 layers. At the time of the March survey the layers were laying 160 eggs per day. That figure was over fifty per cent performance within two months of laying.

The March survey also showed that besides the communal orange gardens, 800 orange tree seedlings had been distributed to individual household for planting in their backyards, most of which were reported to be surviving.

The poultry unit was earning the ward a weekly income of Ts. 558.00, that is to say about 2,232/- per month. Given the marginal nature of the Chiwanda space economy this was a significant change. In fact the peasants themselves expressed their appreciation by remarking that it was the first time that they had an income generating activity in the ward.

All the eggs laid were being consumed in the ward. Of the 246 people interviewed in the March survey, 64% reported that they were both buying and consuming eggs from the poultry unit. And from observation we discovered that there was even a scramble for the eggs.

As regards skill and training component of the project, a knowledge gain test that was carried out at the time of the general survey goes to indicate that the project has had an impact on the skill and knowledge base of the Chiwanda people. Table 2 below shows that of the 243 respondents tested, 46% scored 50% and above in the test. The modal score was 3-4 out of 8 possible points.

Table 2 : **Scores in knowledge gained test-all in %**

Score Class	0—1	2—3	4—5	6—7	8
Village 1	11.9	33.3	40.5	14.5	0.0
2	11.6	51.2	34.8	2.3	0.0
3	14.8	64.8	16.7	3-7	0.0
4	27.8	38.9	22.2	11.1	0.0
5	6.0	12.0	36.0	30.0	16.0
A	14.4	40.0	30.0	12.3	3.2

Implications for Planning

The preceeding sections have attempted to show that the Chiwanda nutrition education project was based on a need-determined curriculum. It has been shown that the learning objectives arose from the objective realities of the Chiwanda space economy; and the different learning facets were in fact articulated and designed by the people themselves, with the change agents coming in when most needed. This section will attempt to indicate the planning implications of the Chiwanda methodology. It will start by re-emphasizing the need for using need based-curricula in training programmes, and proceed through the relevance of people's participation in planning their own development programmes and will end with a few concluding remarks.

The need for need-based curricula

For any people's learning programme to be meaningful, it must enable the participants to understand better and utilize more meaningfully their environment. For such to be realised it is necessary that learning objectives should derive from the real needs of the peoples' space economy. It is such objective realities that ought to condition the ensuing learning processes, for education must have a purpose.

Saying that the needs of a space economy should condition the learning process in an economy is to say that such needs as observed are the felt needs of the people in the economy at issue. But the reality of most third world economies is far from that. These economies are invariably appendages to the military industrial economies of the northern Hemisphere. They are, therefore, not likely to reflect the internal and objective needs of their peoples. For these economies in essence are externally oriented and internally disintegrated. Owing to such an orientation their demand and supply functions are externally linked. Their scheme of resource use does not coincide with domestic demand. It therefore follows that their educational needs will be externally determined, a process that gives rise to an alienating educational system. To have a relevant and liberating education system may, therefore, entail a substantial restructuring of not only an existing educational system but the economic base as well.

Tanzania's experience, in this context, is testimony to the fact that a change in one or two elements of a given system is not sufficient to change the system. What is required is a comprehensive change involving all the subsystems that constitute the whole. For such an action to succeed one needs the people's backing. This can be ensured by the active participation through all the stages of a proposed programme, including initial decision making. And the Chiwanda programme appears to be a case in point.

Peoples' Participation in the Management of their own affairs

Permeating the whole Chiwanda programme is the active participation of the Chiwanda Community in the programme. But participation can take several forms (Evans, 1976). There is what could be called NOMINAL participation, where the structures for participation exist, but are nonetheless non-functional in the sense that the discussion groups are dominated by the leaders. This type of participation is passive, giving little or no chance to the group members to discuss.

Then one could also have a type of participation that could be called CONSULTATIVE. In this type decision makers often seek advice and suggestion from various bodies. But the ensuing discussion is completely controlled by the decision maker.

Then at the highest level of participation one could have what can be called RESPONSIBLE participation. In this type of participation each participant gets the opportunity to discuss issues, exert influence, vote and finally to know by what process the final decision was reached. The Chiwanda programme appears to fit into this last type and hence the success of the programme.

Concluding remarks

The picture that this paper has tried to paint is:

* that it is possible for the scheme of resource use in a given space economy to coincide with domestic demand;
* that the peasantry is not a mass of undifferentiated and ignorant people, with little or no potential, waiting for rescue by development experts;
* rather the peasantry is as resourceful as any other sector of society; what it often lacks is appropriate guidance on how to identify and articulate its development questions and how to mobilise its resources;
* that for rural programmes to acceptable they must reflect the felt needs of the peasants themselves and must be identified and articulated by them;
* that as such the basic source for need identification is the target group;
* that dialogue should be the principal instrument in need identification;
* that for effective implementation people's programmes should be simple, quick yielding and adequate to the needs of the people;
* that if programmes are designed by the people themselves then the skills and techniques to be disseminated are likely to be easily acquired;
* that when such programmes operate at the village level they become effective learning points for both the clients and the change agents.

But such a picture requires a dramatic change in the behaviour pattern of the change agents. A dedicated change agent should aim at conscientizing the peasantry from its subjective understanding towards an understanding of the objective conditions of its environs. In this process of conscientization the change agents must also be in the process of learning with the people. From their learning experience (change agent and clients) they must together attack the oppressive structures. This requires the people to research into their own problems so as to find data and statistics essential for their own programme planning, as is exemplified by Chiwanda (see appendix 2—Chiwanda participation profile).

Thus the people, with the help of the change agents should initiate and participate responsibly in the decision making process. The change agents should here act as channels of communication or rather facilitators. They should avoid becoming decision making executives. Otherwise what ever programmes they will institute will alienate rather than liberate the people.

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Appendix 1

Life of Project: From FY *1976* to FY *1978*
Total Funding : *60,000/-*
Date Prepared : *Sept., 16, 1976*

Project Design Summary
Logical Framework

Project Title and Number: *CHIWANDA PROJECT*

Narrative Summary	*Objectively Verifiable Indicators*	*Means of Verification*	*Important Assumptions*
Programme or Sector Goal: the broader objective to which this project contributes: To avoid diseases caused by malnutrition	Measures of Goal Achievement: The number of cases of diseases caused by malnutrition drops from 60/1000 in 1976 to 56/1000 in 1977 and to 35/1000 in 1978	Ward dispensary records or Public Health Officer's records	Assumptions for Achieving goal targets: There are not other causes of the diseases other than malnutrition
Project Purpose: To provide a better balanced diet	Conditions that will indicate purpose has been achieved: End of project status. 1. 50% of families consuming protein food and vegetables by the second year. 2. 60% of the peasants eating oranges by 18 months 3. 70% of the peasants eating pineapples by the first year 4. 25% of the people doing on their private property what is being demonstrated on the communal farm	1. Tutor's records 2. Tutor's count 3. Tutor's count 4. Peasant's reports (Verbally)	Assumptions for achieving purpose: 1. Families will eat all the new foods. 2. Community leaders, religious leaders, and witch do tors (if any) will cooperate 3. Peasants will understand relation of food to disease by first year. 4. Good weather for growing foods will occur.

(Appendix I Contd.)

Narrative Summary	*Objectively Verifiable Indicators*	*Means of Verification*	*Important Assumptions*
Outputs: 1. Growing fruits 2. Growing vegetables 3. Raising cockrels 4. Raising laying hens 5. Distributing eggs 6. Growing vegetables 7. Holding seminars and discussions groups about nutrition and disease.	Magnitude of Outputs: 1. a. 1000 orange trees planted communally and surviving two years. b. 3516 orange trees bearing in private property. c. 600 pineapple plants planted and bearing by one year 2. One cockrel existing in each three households 3. Thirty (30) dozen eggs distributed daily through the five villages. 4. Carrots, cabbage, and other vegetable dishes being served	1. a. Tutor's count b. Tutor's count c. Tutor's Count 2. Tutor's count 3. Tutor's count 4. Household survey in the village	Assumptions for achieving outputs 1. Peasants will attend discussion groups. 2. Peasants will be motivated to accept new ideas about growing foods and eating them. 3. Earlier compaign of "CHAKULA NI UHAI" will have broken down any food taboos.
Inputs: Money: 60,000- Commodities: vegetable seeds; orange trees; pineapple Plants; 586 cockrels; 400 layers; 10 communal hectares in each village Technical Advice: Tutors Human Resources: Chiwanda Village Peasants			Assumptions for providing inputs: Institute of Adult Education Conference Mwanza September, 1976.

Appendix 2

Chiwanda Participation Profile

Stage	*Faculty*	*Clientele*
1. Problem Identification	Institute of Adult Education Health staff highlighting food nutritive values, body needs and deficiency consequences	The main source of ideas since the villagers know their own problems.
2. Articulation of Possible Solutions	Institute of Adult Education, Health, Veterinary, Agriculture and Coop. staff provide technical and financial implications of each solution.	Consideration and suggestion of possible ways of solving their identified problems.
3. Choice of Appropriate solutions	Helping villagers to understand implications of their choice—inputs, outputs, goals and evaluation procedure	Consideration of various constraints and choice of most feasible solution (the project)
4. Designing the Project and Evaluation Plan	Drawing project design-networks, critical path, etc.	The people help in listing the activities and their programming
5. Project Implementation and Evaluation	Participation through a. providing advice b. summative evaluation	Implementation of the project and carrying out of formative evaluation.

Case Study 5

Appropriate Technology for Grain Storage at Bwakira Chini Village

E.K. Mduma

> "It is not a question of forcing our people to change their habits. It is a question of providing good leadership. It is a question of education and free participation. It is a question of all of us making reality of the principles of equality and freedom which are enshrined in our policy of socialism."
>
> Nyerere, J.K.

Background to the Pilot Project

Grain Storage has been identified as one of the most pressing problems in the third world and Tanzania in particular. It is estimated that as much as 30-40% of all the grain is lost during storage annually. Much of this loss is attributed to poor grain storages at family or micro levels. It is a great concern to both the peasant farmers and leadership at all administrative levels and as such, some considerable thought and attempts have been made against this problem leading to the establishment of a number of innovations. Such innovations have been put to test and adopted with a hope of at least reducing the losses by 10-20%.

In 1975 interested persons and most Tanzanian Institutions were obliged to give much more critical thought to the problem. The ruling party by then TANU had launched a mass campaign known as "Life or Death Farming Campaign." (Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona). This campaign was necessarily initiated by the party as a result of two disastrous harvest seasons in the previous years which nearly led the nation to starvation. The country was forced to spend almost every cent in its foreign exchange reserve for buying grain to offset the shortage. The campaign therefore, was aimed at increasing the nation's capacity for conserving foreign exchange.

The campaign was well taken into account by peasant farmers throughout the country, institutions and offices too. Reports coming from all corners of the country indicated that a good harvest would be forthcoming as a result of the campaign supported by favourable weather. Ideas of developing appropriate storages at micro level brewed seriously. Urgent reviewing of the problem was necessitated.

While the problem was taken care of by the government at national, regional and district levels, special appeal was made to every sincere person to try to improve grain storages at both family and village levels. It was anticipated that at the end of the harvest season every family would be able to have adequate and safe stock till next season.

It was from this juncture that the idea of conducting this project on grain storage came into existence and this was in May 1975. The immediate question was how this massive problem could be attacked. With the belief that villagers could go a long way towards solving their own development problems on the basis of their own skills and available resources, it was proposed therefore to attack the storage problem at family and village levels with tactics guided by the above philosophy. Thus, it was necessary to begin by looking at the already existing local storage structures and to build improved and new innovations together with the peasants.

Participating individuals and institutions

As already indicated above, the idea of stepping up efforts geared to improving small scale grain storages at micro level started spreading among many in anticipation of the bumper harvest as a result of the life or death farming campaign. Individuals, government officials, parastatal organizations and International bodies all alike exerted more pressure on their operational systems to facilitate some extra participation in combating the problem of grain storage.

In this context, the Community Development Trust Fund of

Tanzania based in Dar es Salaam, and the Institute of Adult Education deserve special regard. It is important to note here that the former is an independent and a voluntary agency while the latter is a National Educational Institution.

Although the two institutions were based in Dar es Salaam Tanzania, they still had their individual development programmes and their annual operations quite different from each other. In any case, none of the two had within its annual or quarterly plans the idea of researching or conducting a project on grain storage anywhere in Morogoro District. The two Institutions, one being funded by individuals and independent bodies within and without (abroad) the Republic of Tanzania and the second (Institute of Adult Education) being funded by the Treasury, were sure to differ in the scopes of operation, ethics, and even abilities to operate freely in accordance with set objectives and targets.

In view of all the above and other factors notwithstanding, one would not be surprised if bureaucracy had led to a wider operational gap between the two bodies. One would surely expect either of the two to show up as a financier and a supervisor to projects initiated by the same or the other. One would probably have expected some hardships in convincing the bureaucrats to equally work together in a small development project at micro level.

Co-operation for development at this level had been a philosophy employed by the heads of the two institutions which enabled them to share ideas and experiences in such developmental problems. At this level, dialogue evolved as a means to solve the problem. As stated earlier, foreign bodies were also concerned and they participated either through the government or local institutions. In this respect the Economic Development Bureau (EDB) through Community Development Trust Fund (CDTF) of Tanzania actively participated in the project by providing manpower and finances. It is obvious that by now we have trained technical manpower and financial resources from three Institutions. They are at this juncture dialoguing on the problem of grain storage in Tanzania. How then to Morogoro Region, Morogoro District and Bwakira Chini Village the actual site of the pilot project?

The Community Development Trust Fund of Tanzania being an experienced organization for rural development problems and a financier of a few such projects in some parts of the country, had already in its pending requests a request for finances for grain storage projects in Morogoro District. The initial request was to provide either materials for storages or finance for similar activities. This was therefore the base line for the choice of Morogoro Region and Morogoro District. Having looked at the meagre resources and previous experience on finance handling in the regions and the impact of most supported development projects a new approach was sought. Instead of releasing lumps of money to build storages of an alien type in villages and/or supporting projects at family level of an alien nature, those involved thought of conducting a pilot project in one village first. The alien structures and experiences supported by financial or material inputs would be merged into local expertise and experiences to develop a proto-type structure suited for local conditions. So peoples' know how and environmental conditions were of much importance to these new efforts.

Selection of Bwakira Chini Village—The Project Site

We have already seen how the project was centred at Morogoro Region and Morogoro District. The choice of Bwakira Chini Village in particular is a question deserving a mention here. The selection of the project site was influenced by the following argument:

> "When all the powers remain at the centre therefore, local problems can remain and fester, while local people who are aware of them are prevented from using their initiative in finding solutions."
>
> Nyerere, J.K. NPC May 1972.
> "Decentralisation."

One of the major purposes of the exercise of decentralization is to ensure that development projects stem from the people and serve the people directly. In practising decentralization anounced in 1972, proposals of village development programmes and projects, emerged and assumed a down-top trend instead of the former top-down trend inherited since independence. The new exercise therefore enabled the Morogoro District Development Director to have many developmental project requests from all its villages. Food grain storage problems are prevalent in almost all villages of the above District though they differ in degree. There was and is hardly any place in the district that can be excluded from this problem. However, as problems in villages differ in degree and as long as each village according to decentralization has a mandate to plan, budget and execute according to priorities and immediate felt needs, Bwakira Chini Village had this problem as a top priority. It had already applied for help having felt the need at family level a long time ago. So the village had its project request already at district level. Other factors were surely considered before final selection. Bwakira Chini had all the major food grain crops like maize, sorghum, rice and legumes. Not only food crops but also cash crops which needed storage at least for a day or so before they were sold to the National Corporations which normally have their representatives at villages. Such cash crops include cotton, and oil seeds. Another reason for the selection was the availability of expertise from both the University of Dar es Salaam—Faculty of Agriculture/Forestry and Veterinary Sciences and the Ilonga Research Station. The above Institutions had manpower and facilities relevant to the problem of grain storage. Previous researches and efforts had been initiated, conducted by these two institutions and their experiences were of great significance and relevant to the success of this project. Communications from Dar es Salaam, the headquarters of both CDTF and IAE, were favourable. A great deal of travelling by Staff of the above institutions and those from the EDB mentioned earlier would have to be done regularly and this demanded less costs in terms of time, and finance. Lastly in relation to the question of selection, it was felt that the District authorities in Morogoro were already sympathetic to the villagers at Bwakira Chini. The objectives both long term and short term, as shall be seen later, together with the approach which we proposed to employ were supported by the leadership. Dialogue has by now moved to the District level from the headquarters in Dar es Salaam. Discussions between the Dar es Salaam team and that of Morogoro led to the decision to contact both the village administration right at the village and other resource persons as felt necessary.

Workforce and Time

We have already seen the multisectoral ambitions in workforce combination. Institutions down to village level aimed at one goal: dialoguing for a better grain structure suitable for conditions at Bwakira Chini Village. A working force was therefore composed of representatives from the Institute of Adult Education with its Resident Tutor in Morogoro, Community Development Trust Fund represented by its planning officer, an expert on environmental health from Economic Development Bureau and District authorities. Consultant services were sought from the Faculty of Agriculture/Forestry and Veterinary Science, Ilonga Research Station, TFNC and IDM. The above workforce formed the core of the team which lived with the Villagers from the beginning of the project to the stage of actual construction of the agreed structure evolved in the dialogue. The team spent a total of eight weeks in the project site from July, to the end of August 1976. Fortunately the time spent coincided with the harvest season in the village when interest in storage was at its height. Though the villagers were rather busy, they were engaged in activities related to the issues being discussed in the project. The period of eight weeks which was available had both advantages and disadvantages. Developments which emerged during this short period of dialogue were very visible and became part of the consciousness of all who participated.

Villagers realised the possibilities of making real changes and the impact and results so obtained were directly attributed to the methodology used. However, time limitations meant that the outside team could not always wait for the level of group consciousness to rise to a certain level of understanding about a particular problem before moving to the next. Time allocated for identifying and examining critically various local storage structures and relating them with the objectives before presentation to the discussion groups was always insufficient and therefore had affected negatively the potency of the dialogue experience for all participants.

The Village Dialogue approach

> "I want to be quite sure that our technical and practical education is an education for creators, not for creatures."
> Nyerere, J.K. (Development Dialogue 1974) (No. 2) p. 46.

Masisi Y.C. in his paper entitled "Comprehensive Integrated Village Planning and the Role of Adult Education," presented at a Workshop on Agricultural Extension in Ujamaa Village Development held at the University of Dar es Salaam Faculty of Agriculture/Forestry and Veterinary Science Morogoro from 22nd through 27th September 1975, had this to say among other things:

> "As an adult educator the extension worker should be both a learner and a teacher. He has to learn from the peasants the nature of the environment within which they live and how they have adapted themselves to it. Under normal circumstances, the peasants know their environment very well. In addition to that, they also know, what they need. What is lacking is the knowledge of how they can meet these needs. Since the extensionist has more knowledge in this respect, he should learn from the peasants what they know, and from this both can decide on what path to take."

The roles of the experts are therefore complementary to those of villagers rather than antagonistic. Outsiders should regard themselves as co-workers in a peasant context and not alien redeemers of peasants in their localities. Tanzanian policy encourages mass participation in decision making and the use of adult education as a vehicle for liberation. (Hall B. 1975; Mongi, 1976; Mbunda, 1976). The relationships between adult education, participation in decision—making and human liberation has been acknowledged by Tanzanian planners at all levels. The discussion group approach had been developed intensively and extensively during previous mass adult education campaigns namely, "The Choice is Yours" (1970) "Man is Health" (1973), and "Food is Life" (1975). Such discussion groups provided the possibility for engaging in the social act of naming the world (Freire, 1971) through which individuals' awareness of their own reality increases as does their confidence that they can themselves improve their situation. When discussion groups are also action implementation groups, the balance between mobilization of human energies and action are on a vast scale. The methods used in this project were grounded in the experiences of the discussion group approach mentioned above. The team attempt to elicit from the villagers in a series of discussion meetings and visits their perception of the reality surrounding local food supply and storage problems. As specified in the Village Act of 1975, each registered village had a government with five committees.

Bwakira Chini Village was not exceptional. Among the five Committees there is a committee known as the committee for economic planning and production. This committee is responsible for planning both developmental and economic projects and supervises the implementation. A sub-committee on storage was immediately appointed by the village council to supervise the activities of the project. It was charged with the responsibilities of reporting to the council the progress, problems encountered during project implementation and especially during discussion meetings. Such an instrument for liaison with a self-selected and voluntary sub-committee of villagers was a vital check on the outside teams's possible misunderstandings of the villagers' perceptions put across during meetings as well as an invaluable contribution to the understanding of the problem in the context of village reality. In order to build villagers' confidence within themselves, the team systematised, summarised and returned everything the discussion groups mentioned. They were able to see themselves as possessing a concrete science and technology. According to dialogue methodology, it was at this moment that the team could begin to make contributions of modern science and technology suited for micro level developed from experiences elsewhere.

Having aroused their awareness of the problem and aroused their confidence in their own abilities and resources, the village storage committee including the outside team could then present possible modifications of existing local technology. Villagers' reactions to such suggestions were in most cases very critical. During dialogue, group members were able to choose among elements of their own and those introduced. In this way the systems finally designed were in fact their own and were therefore easier to put into practice. In summary, the team and the sub-committee on grain storage had in the village dialogue the functions of examining the situation in the village and to identify systems related to storage, present the identified themes to the villagers in a dialogical form, to systematize the information accumulated during discussions and return them to groups, and lastly participate fully in the action which emerged from group discussions.

Formation of the Sub-Committee, Tactics, Values and Limitations

The existence of this committee on the project has already been mentioned. Some of its functions have also been pointed out already. This committee being a vital linking device deserves thorough analysis. Its formation was actually the first real step of the dialogue. It was chosen at an extra-ordinary meeting of the Village Council (Village Government) during which the outside team explained the aims and intentions of their visit based on the problem of grain storage whereby a pilot project there was to try and find possible solutions. The selection process of the storage Committee pre-determined its anatomy. The Village council team itself was almost totally composed of middle class and influential peasants with only a minor representation of few poor peasants and women. Given the task of selecting the storage committee from among its own members, the village council automatically appointed the rich or already progressive farmers who were likewise aggressively interested in agricultural innovations. With this feature, there was therefore a danger that the committee might merely turn into a vehicle for these progressive elements to make storage innovations which were only appropriate to themselves and not the masses. The team quickly took note of this danger and carefully steered the committee to the mass-approach. It continuously emphasized the need to hear from a cross-section of peasants in the village and to design together structures which would meet their needs. The political commitment of the team was extremely important on this issue as the content and direction of the dialogue depend on the political intent and input of those who identify the themes and lead the group discussions.

The committee members worked closely with the team in planning meetings. Listening to tape recordings (see below) of discussion group meetings and screening the ideas and designs that emerged from the dialogue. The job of leading the discussion group meetings fell entirely upon the storage committee under its elected chairman.

For the purpose of conducting effective dialogue, the committee divided the village into four zones of settlement. This was an alternative to the original idea of conducting the discussions, in the ten-family adult education study groups. It was thought that these small adult education groups would have a higher level of co-operation and therefore, a greater possibility of discussing and implementing real changes. It was, however, realised that due to time constraints on the part of the outside team and the elapsing of the harvesting season the small adult education study groups would not be appropriately visited and assisted on critical problem analysis and implementation. It was stressed that full and thorough coverage of the village was essential. Zonal groups were therefore ideal and applicable. Although most group discussions were very successful, on occasion, it was necessary for committee members to round up those potential participants for meetings. Whenever this happened, observations showed that it was not really attributed to lack of interest among the villagers or group participants, but rather due to poor organization and preparation. In another effort to activate discussions during the project period, and to preserve history, all formal group-discussions were tape-recorded. It was the intention of the educationists to later transcribe the discussions and preserve them in print. It was also intended to develop follow-up reading materials of different levels for post-literates in the project site and the surrounding villages. It was necessary however to obtain the consent of group members before recording and the recording was normally replayed after the meeting for the participants to hear some of what they had been discussing. This was an admirable excercise for chances of by-passing some important remarks made during group discussions did not arise. Members of the team also used the recordings to critically analyse the discussions in camp and took note of essential remarks and points which were thought to be of much importance and deserved regeneration or further discussions by the discussants.

Pictures were also drawn by the team artist after participating in discussions and observing the surroundings and descriptions in the dialogue. The pictures were also drawn by using the tape recorded information at the camp which were later used in the next meetings. These pictures also served to stimulate discussions when they seemed to be lagging.

Another limitation which deserves a mention here is that of women's poor participation. Bwakira Chini Village is situated in the Rufiji Basin with a coastal nature. The attitudes and behaviour of women at the project site were (and are) of coastal identity. It was difficult for women to participate first in the village administration for men in the first place did not give them a chance. There was only one woman in the village council by the time the project started. Even this one did not know actually what was the government's operational parameters. She was shy and could not contribute much even in the first council meeting on the project apart from fully supporting everything put across in the meetings and especially that by the chairman. Great efforts and special appeals were made by the committee to involve the women knowing very well that they had an important role to play in the project. It is the women according to the village tradition who look after the grain storages and therefore it is they who know well the losses of the family stock. Seating arrangements were reorganised to suit their conveniences and the group leadership gave more chances to women than men with a deliberate attempt to stimulate and activate them to contribute fully for more valuable information. All these efforts did not help much although their attendance at the meetings greatly improved as days went by. Lack of full participation by women was one of the major shortcomings of the project although they stood to gain more, being controllers of the grain storages in the families. In any case the dialogue method or the interpersonal communication system as some people call it, had a direct effect. It stimulated ideas among villagers, many of whom did not know even what storage systems their neighbours were using.

In the course of more than twenty formal group discussion meetings over eight weeks, more than ten traditional storages were analysed. While analysing the local storages, group discussants also analysed other environmental problems. Among such problems were included all pests and animals, thieves, rainfall and rainfall pertterns, crop production in relation to village by-laws, customs and beliefs, land distribution, credit facilities, all other production and market and storage relations.

Practical outcome/benefits and problems solved

While continuing with elucidation of village realities, analysis of existing local storages and suggesting possible alternatives, villagers started implementation of the agreed structure with modifications. Among others, three major streams of modifications were agreed upon by discussion groups and villagers started implementation under the supervision of the storage committee. The most common among the three however was the outside structure (dungu) which was elevated above 4 feet, rat proofed (with rat guards above 3 ft) and rain protected. Other precautions noted included wind direction, distance from the main house or trees and other agents which might help rats or insect infestations.

The project had three ranges of objectives from which villagers were to benefit. Immediate benefits of the project include the construction of more than fifteen improved, rat proofed structures with a capacity of 25 tons and use of insecticide by peasants, the malathion 1%. The estimated value of crops saved from destruction by rats and insects and possibly thieves through the construction of such an improved structure within the first six months was T. Shs. 10,000/-. Obviously, though the value looks small, it is a great achievement to a village in a rural area which is more than 100 km. from the Regional centre. Medium range benefits include a greater awareness and understanding on the part of villagers of the principles of grain storage and technical and social variables which affect grain storage within their locality. The creation of the storage committee would serve as a resource group and a mechanism for evaluation. The committee will continue mobilization duties of villagers and supervise input distribution and repayment of credits. For long range objectives, the villagers would benefit from the development of village dialogue methodology. Training institutions for adult educators or extension staff have the opportunity of applying the methodology to equip the staff for effective rural communication. The tape recorded information would help in production of post-literacy reading materials for rural consumption. Writers' workshops could be organised to produce such books and manuals and possibly be distributed to villages within the project site and surrounding villages. Although the improvements may not necessarily be directly applicable to other villages in the country, the information and experiences may serve as a reference or a baseline for new developments fit for isolated localities.

Other educational teaching aids could also be developed from the collection from the project site. So for villages, the new structure has set them free from rat-infestation due to the fixing of rat-guards, insect destruction as insecticides could now safely be applied, fungi destruction which was equally serious due to high moisture content in grain harvested earlier due to wild pests and thieves. The new structure is able to continue drying grain and is also safe from fire as it was agreed that construction sites should be in court-yard compounds of main houses which are normally fenced. They should be completely separate units. In addition, some more technical details were discussed, agreed upon and therefore taken care of during construction.

Final project analysis

We have seen how much effort was put into the project. We have seen the effect of this effort and the effect of the methodology. The eight weeks spent had developed an improved structure whose construction began within the eight weeks and continued thereafter. Both team members from outside the village and the project committee worked tirelessly in a tight programme to that end. We have seen how dialogue enabled different national institutions, regional, district and village authorities to liaise and conduct such a profitable project of that scale. Having analysed the problem and agreed to work together, appropriate and necessary data was collected even before the team settled at the village. The first week in the village was an opportunity for team mates to familiarise themselves with the new environment, to explain to the village council the intentions of the project, to discuss storage problems in general and the formation of the vital project committee whose duties have been explained. In forming the project committee it was first thought that two members from the five committees of the village council could make a good team. It was however noted later that there was a need to include a few individuals with personal interest in the problem of storage. It was also thought necessary to include a few outstanding individuals who had the full respect of the entire community due to wisdom or traditional authority. Technical government servants within the village surrounding were also included. A joint programme was then worked out after the formation of the project co-ordinating committee. Directives from the village council were analysed first before creating zones and forming discussion groups. Having formed discussion groups, timetables were drawn and schedules of meetings began in the third week leading to design and construction of the improved structure. The committee developed a continuing relationship with such outside resources as the Faculty of Agriculture in Morogoro which sought technical expertise. Laboratories of the faculty were used to analyse the effects of some herbs from the site purported to have some effects on insects. A professor of entemology helped set up tests at the village school which helped studies on the life cycle of some weevels and the effects of malathion dust 1%. Later the project committee was invited to lead a seminar at the Faculty of agriculture on experiences based on the project on the problem of grain storage.

As assumed before, dialogue had managed to raise peoples' consciousness towards the problem of grain storage. It had helped to mobilise the people and helped them discuss the problem and create better solutions and solve the problems. It had closed the gap between the village and other institutions and personalities outside. Villagers had developed a permanent manpower resource group at village level and created a system for credits from outside and benefited directly from this exercise.

In looking at the political implication of the exercise one would give credit in view of the fact that project generation was done at village level and forwarded upwards as per decentralization policy. Party committees discussed the project proposals and supervised the implementation. Group discussions were effective in raising consciousness following previous mass mobilisation campaigns like "the choice is yours" and others. It was therefore a good test of the potency of the methodology which could be used in later days for similar purposes. The integration of personnel and activities in this project deserve a mention. Both Tanzanians non-Tanzanians collaborated well to fight a common enemy.

New people from around the site had just joined the village as a result of the villagization exercise where by every Tanzanian had to be in a Village. This exercise, strengthened by the 1975 villagization act proved a good opportunity to practice democracy for the benefit of all the villagers. Although things went on well, there was suspicion among some members of the village and even the village council. The presence of the non-Tanzanians was looked at with a suspicious eye especially in the beginning. This attitude changed gradually as days went by. This was however very natural and had very little effect. Another fundamental observation which had a political implication, was the influence of the project committee chairman gained during the eight weeks. It was evident that due to frequent and regular meetings with villagers the project chairman become very influential among the peasants.

It was by coincidence that around that time there were party leadership elections. The project chairman having gained enough support and influence contested the seat against the former chairman. This new development led to adverse relations between the new candidate and former party leader at the village. It was unfortunate that this change of attitudes within the leadership affected the proceedings of the project. Other programmes however helped to stabilise the situation. Within the follow-up programme, the project committee successfully conducted a seminar at the village on the subject of proper grain storage. This seminar was a unique one because it was the first seminar ever to be conducted at the village. Participants included representatives from fifteen surrounding villages, extension staff from the villages and political leaders. The seminar was officially opened by the Member of Parliament (MP) for Morogoro Rural and was closed by the Chairman of the Bwakira Chini Village Council. It was a unique experience to both villagers, leaders and all technical staff of the project. The experience was strengthened when the committee members from the village led a seminar of third year B.Sc. Agriculture Students at the Faculty of Agriculture on experiences on appropriate technologies for grain storage at micro levels.

The objective of developing an appropriate grain storage at family level suited to the local conditions had been achieved. Manpower development ambitions had also been accomplished by the formation and training of the storage project committee to serve as a permanent resource group at the village. Experiences on the part of extension staff and other technical staff engaged in the project had developed significantly. Information linkages had also been developed to a stage that villagers now look at the collaborating Institutions as theirs and very accessible to them. Regular visits to the institutions are now made by the villagers for purposes related to the project and many other things. While it is true that the application of the methodology is time consuming and tiresome, it is also evident that its effects are unique.

It helps participants generate and raise awareness towards a problem leads them to create solutions for the problem. Beneficiaries are able to combine efforts and resources from conception to implementation. Alien ideas, technical know-how and experiences are brewed during dialogue. However, practising dialogue needs trained and committed manpower. Yet the best way to train a person in the use of dialogical approach is to have him/her experience the practice of the methodology.

Case Study 6

The Jipemoyo Project

Kemal Mustafa

The Jipemoyo Project was carried out between 1975-1979 in the Western Bagamoyo District of Tanzania. The Project was jointly sponsored by the Academy of Finland and the Ministry of National Culture and Youth in Tanzania. The nature of the research problem was originally stated as being to study the role of culture in the restructuring process of rural Tanzania and the purpose of the research was to unleash the development potential of the villagers of Western Bagamoyo District for socialist construction in line with Tanzania's policy of Socialism and Self Reliance.

The following people were involved in the Project:

Academy of Finland	
M.L. Swantz	Director
P. Donner	Full-time Researcher
U. Vuorela	Full-time Researcher
H. Jerman	Secretary and Part-time Researcher
T. Sitari	Associate Researcher
A. Hurskainen	Associate Researcher
Ministry of National Culture and Youth	
A.O. Anacleti	Director
K. Mustafa	Full-time Researcher
B. Kiyenze	Full-time Researcher
M. Matwi	Full-time Researcher
D. Kitolero	Research Assistant
J. Reuben	Research Assistant

University of Dar es Salaam

P. Rigby	Project Adviser
M. Mbilinyi	Associate Researcher
D. Bryceson	Associate Researcher
A. Muro	Associate Researcher

Party and Government Leaders

Coast Region
Bagamoyo District
Msoga Division
Msata Division
Miono Division

Villages

Mindu Tulieni
Msoga
Lunga
Diozile
Msata
Kihangaiko
Masugulu
Miono
Hondogo
Mandera

The Project employed a Participatory Research Approach with conflicting methodologies. Some researchers tried to use a historical materialist methodology while other researchers used a methodology derived from bourgeois social science and tailored to their various disciplines. This divergence in research methodologies produced the major constraints on the Project both in relation to Project administration as well as in relation to the contradiction between theory and practice. However, the major limitation of the Project was the lack of experience in employing a Participatory Research Approach.

Despite this the Project was able to achieve several practical outcomes including the following:

1. Seminar on the promotion of small-scale industries in villages based on traditional handicrafts.
2. Seminars on Pastoralist Education and Development Problems in Bagamoyo District.
3. Seminar on the development of a theoretical framework for the Project.
4. Seminar on Archiving and Documentation.
5. Seminar for Cultural Officers on Field Research Techniques.

6. Plans for setting up cooperative small-scale industries in Mandera, Mboga, Kihangaiko, Mazizi, Miono and Mindu Tulieni villages.
7. Plans for teaching Selo ngoma in Tanzanian schools.
8. Development Plan for Mindu Tulieni village.
9. Establishment of a drum-making industry in Miono village.
10. Establishment of a Traditions' Archive and Documentation Unit for the Department of Research and Planning of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth.

From the above list it will be seen that the Project research was concentrated on the following topics:

1. Pastoralist development.
2. Traditional handicrafts and the promotion of small-scale industries.
3. Promotion of traditional music and dance.
4. Creation of traditions' archive and documentation unit.

In addition to this research was carried out and planned on witchcraft eradication, the role of women in food production, ethnic indentification and national consciousness and the geographical analysis of the process of villagization. In its first phase the Project concentrated on holding seminars to discuss the villagers' problems with the Regional, District, Division and Ward leaders and once the main issues had become clearer the Project researchers then continued to deepen their research and to look for ways in which the skills and resources of the villagers could be harnessed for socialist construction.

As has been stated the aim of the Jipemoyo Project was to study the role of culture in the restructuring process of rural Tanzania so as to unleash the development potential of the villagers of Western Bagamoyo District for socialist construction by employing a participatory research approach. It was possible to reconcile the multi-disciplinary research carried out on the Project because the conception of culture employed on the Project was a very wide one. Although there has been much argument on the Project about the definition of the basic concepts used, I present here my own conceptions of culture, development, and socialist development.

I take culture to be the creation by human beings of the social relations into which they enter in the material production of their lives. These social relations are complex and are continually changing in a dialectical relationship with the material basis of production. Thus it is in social production that people create their culture while at the same time engaging in social production on the basis of their existing culture. In this way culture cannot be separated from the mode of production since it is in a dialectical relationship with it. And it is on this basis that social organization takes place through economic, political and ideological institutions, which develop historically depending on the articulation between elements of different modes of production in concrete social formations.

I see development to be the result of the qualitative changes taking place in society as a consequence of the contradiction between the forces of production and social relations of production, which constitutes the law of motion of the mode of production characterizing a concrete social formation at a particular time. The mode of production refers to the way in which people cooperate in production and how they distribute the fruits of their labour amongst themselves, as well as the way in which social labour is distributed between different branches of production.

My conception of socialist development is based on the understanding that socialist planning involves the conscious regulation of commodity relations of production with increasing emphasis being given to the workers and peasants to be actively involved in planning their own development on a democratic basis. It is for this reason that the Project employed a participatory research approach with a view to deliberately encouraging the peasants to actively influence and affect the forms of calculation of the central planning apparatus by putting forward their own forms of economic calculation as a contribution to democratic socialist development.

However, it should not be thought that the use of a participatory research approach was limited to research on peasants only. In fact the Project used a participatory research approach to involve Party and Government leaders as well as villagers and the researchers themselves in the research process. This can perhaps best be shown by describing briefly some of the seminars conducted by the Project where a participatory research approach was employed with different types of people.

The Msata seminar took place in June 1976 and served as the official opening of the Project. The seminar brought together leaders and functional officers from the Ministry, Region, District, Divisions and Wards who were able to meet and discuss development problems with the villagers. They were able to learn from craftsmen and women, pastoralists, local historians, musicians and dancers who all had a lot to say about their existing skills and their potential for development. The topics covered included traditional systems of education (especially among the pastoralists) and how these could be integrated with modern education; the formation of handicraft cooperatives as the basis for small-scale village industries; and the richness and diversity of the history of the villagers as manifested in their songs and dances.

The purpose of the seminar was to demonstrate that there are many skilled people living in the villages who, if given suitable encouragement by the Government, can provide the basis for socialist construction. It was suggested that by using a participatory research approach involving villagers, leaders and researchers in the identification of problems and in the common planning of how to surmount these by relying on local skills and resources as far as possible, a major step would be taken towards implementing the policy of self-reliant socialist development.

Following the Msata seminar a workshop was held in July 1976 at the University of Dar es Salaam in order to discuss the theoretical framework to be used on the Project. The workshop lasted for two days and involved researchers, lecturers and students from the Ministry and the University. The major point of contention was between those who argued for a uniform theoretical framework for the Project based on a historical materialist methodology and those who argued for the freedom of each researcher to develop his or her own theoretical framework. This conflict was never resolved throughout the Project with the result that each researcher decided on the kind of theoretical framework to be employed in his or her own particular study.

A further point of issue, which also divided the Project members, related to the conflicting hypotheses put forward to express the underlying values and assumptions of the research. On the one hand it was argued that the basic problem was one of a lack of communication between leaders and villagers. On the other hand it was suggested that the basic contradiction was one of conflicting class interests. Those who argued for the latter hypothesis also advocated a uniform historical materialist methodology for the Project, while those who put forward the former hypothesis were most vociferous in defending their right to develop their own independent methodology.

The political implications of the divergent hypotheses were manifested in practice when the communication theorists took a hard line against the bureaucrats criticizing them for not being willing to learn from the peasants. The class analysts, however, taking into account the material conditions of the bureaucrats, were not surprised to find the bureaucrats accumulating on the basis of the surplus produced by the peasants and workers in line with their petty bourgeois class interests. Whereas the communication theorists found this morally reprehensible and a violation of the Party ideology, the class analysts argued that the conflicting class interests should be seen objectively in their historical and international context. The inevitable outcome of this conflicting approach to the bureaucrats was manifested in the suspicious way that some of the Party and Government leaders viewed the Project research.

In November 1976 the Project organized an Archiving seminar which lasted for three days. This was an international seminar with delegates coming from Finland as well as from the Eastern African countries. The purpose of the seminar was to try and review the problems related to archiving and documentation in Tanzania and to propose measures to improve the existing situation. After this seminar the Project organized another two week seminar in Miono village for Tanzanian cultural officers. One week was spent in Miono in which training in Field research techniques as well as in the use of tape recorders and cameras was given to the cultural officers, who were then sent to live in surrounding villages for a week to put what they had learnt into practice. The idea of this on-the-job training was to provide the cultural officers with the experience of working in village conditions.

In January 1977 the Project was invited to a one day meeting in the Regional office to discuss the problems about implementing universal primary education among the pastoralists. The Project prepared a report on the subject which was discussed by leaders from the Region and the villages. At the end of the meeting it was decided to organize a seminar in the villages so as to discuss the development problems of the pastoralists at greater length. This seminar was held in February, 1977 at Lugoba and lasted for two days. The pastoralists contributed materially to meeting the costs of the seminar and welcomed this opportunity to discuss their problems with the Regional, District, Division and Ward leaders. During the seminar the pastoralists were the main speakers and they explained how they saw their development plan for Mindu Tulieni village, which is designed to provide the infrastructural services necessary before the pastoralists will be able to lead a life more compatible with villagization. This plan has been included in the District Annual Plan and has been sent forward to the Region. The Ministry is currently working on ways to obtain funding for the proposed project.

From the above it will be seen that the Project was primarily involved in what has been called Policy Oriented Action Research (POAR) in Discussion Paper 2. Efforts have been made to involve villagers in the planning of development projects which are designed to implement national policies. Although this has been the intention it is still necessary, however, to try and evaluate the successes and failures of the Project. One way to do this perhaps is by looking more closely at the work of the full-time researchers on the Project.

In Miono, P. Donner began his ethnomusicological studies by getting school children to do research on traditional methods of collecting and preserving water. He found that the water problem was so acute that villagers were only prepared to discuss other things when they felt that some progress was being made towards solving their water problem. Although nothing much could be done in the short term, plans were made and the District and Regional authorities were called upon to try and provide more continuous supplies of water.

After building up a rapport with the villagers in this way, Donner was able to proceed with his ethnomusicological studies. The outcome of this was that he was taught how to dance the *Selo ngoma* as well as how to make the *Selo* drums. His close association with his teacher Juma Nassoro led them to design an improved *Selo* drum which began to be manufactured in a small-scale drum-making industry set up in the village. As well as producing drums, Donner and Nassoro are also writing a series of manuals which are designed for use in promoting the teaching of the *Selo ngoma* in Tanzanian schools.

In this example, a participatory research approach has been employed among a few people for a specific purpose and encouraging progress has been made. By the end of the Project a lot of problems still remained in relation to the marketing of the drums and in relation to integrating the promotion of the *Selo ngoma* into the syllabus of the Ministry of National Education. However, these problems demonstrate that more time is needed before being able to disseminate research findings at the national level. A complicated bureaucratic process must be gone through which forces the researcher to become proficient in administration as well as in research. This is perhaps one of the major lessons which was learnt during the Project. At the same time Donner's experience also showed the need for a closer integration between the various institutions involved in music promotion so as to develop greater cooperation in the coordination of music research. As it was, Donner found himself working in a vacuum in an increasingly individualistic way. On the completion of the Project no Tanzanian was in a position to carry on his work in the Ministry.

U. Vuorela was a little more fortunate as regards the establishment of a traditions' archive and documentation unit for the Department of Research and Planning of the Ministry National Culture and Youth. Although she had to do most of the work involved in creating the system of archiving and documentation developed during the Project, at least by the time the Project came to an end a Tanzanian Cultural Officer had been appointed to carry on with her work. The fact that this Tanzanian Officer was unable to actually participate in the work which went into creating the traditions' archive and documentation unit is unfortunate since it was an experience which would have provided very valuable training. The system created by the Project is the result of concrete experience in Tanzanian conditions and it is most unlikely that such a system could be envisaged by someone who had not had practical experience of working in Tanzanian conditions.

The purpose of the traditions' archive and documentation unit is to enable researchers to get information in a convenient form as quickly as possible. This is in accordance with one of the aims of the Project which was to ensure that research findings are fed back to the villagers and leaders as soon as possible so that they can then be put to use in the solution of the development problems identified. This necessitates a full-time office staff with the relevant technical expertise to handle and classify information recorded in field notes, tape-recordings, photographs and articles. One of the constraints experienced by the Project was in getting enough people to train in this work. And once the people had been obtained another costraint faced was the problem of enabling these people to get further training so as to increase their proficiency. Because of its poineering nature the Project found itself training people to do jobs for which they had not originally been employed. There was thus a great deal of frustration when it was found that no provisions had been made in the Ministry for the kind of work which people were being given and this is a matter which must be taken up urgently with the Ministry of Manpower Development.

A further consequence of the work involved in setting up the traditions' archive and documentation unit was that Vuorela was unable to carry out much research on the role of women in food production. In the original Project design it had been planned that she would carry out this research during the course of the Project. In practice this did not prove possible. This is an example of one of the limitations faced by the Project. The constraints of time and manpower meant that more work had to be done in day-to-day Project administration than had been originally envisaged with the result that less time was left for actual research. This was the result of an oversight in the orginal Project design, which was too ambitious and which did not have a realistic appreciation of the complexities of working on a bilateral pilot project.

However, some work has been done on the role of women in food production and on the position of rural women generally by one of the Associate Researchers and more work is being planned by both Vuorela and another Associate Researcher. However, this work will be done as a continuation of the Project research and it is unfortunate that during the course of the Project the question of women was relatively neglected. Some work on women did take place during the Project and M.L. Swantz was intrumental in acquiring money from Finland to run a workshp for women leaders in conjunction with the District and Regional leaders. Although members of the project participated in this workshop it was not officially a Project undertaking and thus is not dealt with in this report.

B. Kiyenze worked at the establishemt of cooperative small-scale industries on the basis of traditional handicrafts. His work on the Project was interrupted when he went to the University of Dar es Salaam to study for his M.A. degree but since his thesis was related to his work on the Project this did not cause too many problems. Kiyenze concentrated on making a historical materialist analysis of handicraft production in Western Bagamoyo District and on advising individual craftsman and women to come together to work on cooperative basis. Efforts were also made to involve SIDO, HANDICO and other relevant institutions in the promotion of small-scale industries but by the end of the Project even those cooperative small-scale industries which had been set up were suffering from problems related to the supply of raw materials and inadequate marketing organization.

Kiyenze's work highlighted the problems associated with the development of small-scale industries where the lack of investment capital and the low labour productivity, when combined with the shortage of raw materials and inadequate marketing organization, created severe limitations to their development potential. Kiyenze singled out management and leadership as being major constraints in the development of those small-scale industries. It would perhaps be fitting to quote *in extenso* his own assessment of his use of a participatory research approach on the Project as well as his experience in general, which is taken from the draft of his Final Report:

> This assessment will open with a discussion of the aims of my research in the light of the overall theme of the Project: "The Role of Culture in the Restructuring of Rural Areas in Tanzania: A Case-Study of Western Bagamoyo District." I was the first Tanzanian Researcher to start work in the Project in July 1975. At that time, the aims of my research included research on the history of the Doe and the political and economic changes that have taken place in Doe society; research on the customs and traditions of the Doe so as to identify those which hinder, and those which can facilitate socio-economic development. Those which facilitate development were to be utilized in implementing development projects, while means would be found to ban those which obstruct socio-economic development. Finally, the other aim of my research was to do a historical study of traditional handicrafts and how to promote their development. As I entered the Project just four months after completing my studies at the University of Dar es Salaam, I lacked all the necessary experience, research skill and the practical approach which could have enabled me to embark on 'productive' field work immediately after going to the villagers. As a result, I had problems in how and where to begin my research. The three aims of my research mentioned above seemed to constitute quite a difficult task for me. This was made more complicated by the fact that I had no concrete theoretical framework to guide my research. I had spent some two months with Dr. Swantz at the University of Dar es Salaam learning about the *Participant Observation Research Methods,* which even confused me more after trying to apply it in my field work. I spent the whole half of 1975 doing research without concretely knowing what problem I was trying to grapple with.
>
> In 1976, the Project team was complete, at least by the middle of the year. At that time, I began to look for a theoretical framework which could guide my research. After some private reading and discussion with my team-mates, I began to acquire, some light about the theoretical framework I had

been reading about. At that time too, I had learnt about the *Participatory Research Approach*, and I tried to apply it in the villages. Using my theoretical framework which was based on historical materialism, I began to notice that it was unscientific to study Doe society in isolation. Recalling what I had read about historical and dialectical materialism, I realized the necessity of studying a given phenomenon in relation to other phenomena. Moreover, I realized that the aims of my research were too vaguely stated. Therefore, I redefined them in the light of historical research on traditional handicrafts and their role in rural small-scale industrialization. I decided to link this historical research with a concrete study on changes in the relations of production in all the societies of Western Bagamoyo. I got fully equipped with my theoretical framework after going through the M.A. degree course in 1977/78.

I was able to apply the Participatory Research Approach (PRA) after realizing the defects which were caused by the lack of a definite theoretical framework. In relation to theory, PRA can be an effective tool of research as long as it is directed by a theory which seeks to equip the exploited with an instrument that can enable them to rise against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of exploitation. In this respect, historical materialism alone is the theory that can be used in PRA with the purpose and capability of enabling the exploited and oppressed to struggle against imperialism. The use of bourgeois theories in PRA will only intensify the exploitation of the exploited by the exploiters. The initiative which I have stimulated among the craftsmen, the faith they have in me, the initiative they have demonstrated in forming handicraft 'cooperatives,' and how well and long I have been able to *stay in the villages with the villagers, sometimes working together with them*, all illustrate how I have applied PRA in my research.

My research has faced various conflicts and contradictions. When I started my research, there was a big conflict between the Project researchers and the District leaders. The conflict was caused by the fact that the Ministry of National Culture and Youth launched the Project in Western Bagamoyo

District without fully involving the District Leaders in the planning stages of the Project. The District leaders had no concrete, official information concerning the Project. This conflict continued to interrupt the performance of the Project up to the end of 1976. In the beginning of my research, some peasants demanded some kind of pay for the data they offered. I came to realize later that this conflict arose because some of the villagers had not yet grasped the aims of my research. So, I spent more time clarifying the aims of the whole Project. After I had become acquainted with the villagers, and after the villagers had won faith in my work, this conflict was resolved. In the team as a whole, there was some misunderstanding which was due to the different theoretical frameworks adopted by the researchers. Nevertheless, this did not destroy cooperation in the team. Instead, it has produced important lessons of working in a Project which is staffed by researchers who have different cultural backgrounds and different theoretical groundings.

The research in the Jipemoyo Project has given me not only experience and skill in research, but also practical application of my theoretical stock of knowledge into the problems of village life. It has offered me a good opportunity to familiarize myself with the strategies of planning and implementing a development research project. Thus, if I were to start again from the beginning, I would be able to avoid the errors which were committed in the planning of the Jipemoyo Research Project……In addition, since I am now equipped with a concrete theoretical framework, and after testing PRA practically in the villages, I would be able to make a better start in my research, using the experience I have acquired, than I did at first when I began research in 1975. (Emphasis in the original).

K. Mustafa and M. Matwi, ably supported by J. Reuben, employed a participatory research approach in trying to work on the development problems of the pastoralists. They were fortunate in that the Ilparakuyo community in Mindu Tulieni, where the bulk of their work was done, was very close knit and forthright and frank in speaking out about its problems. As has been shown, the early work took place through seminars in which the pastoralists were able to discuss their education and development problems with Regional and District leaders. After selecting the kinds of traditional practices which should be developed and those which should be abandoned, the researchers became actively involved in trying to plan a village developement project which would meet the needs of the pastoralists. This was based on the resolutions made by the pastoralists as well as the Regional and District leaders at the Lugoba seminar in 1977.

One fact which helped this work was that research proceeded in pace with developments taking place in the Regional and District offices. Thus the Project was invited by the Region to help solve the education problems of the pastoralists in relation to the implementation of Universal Primary Education. In 1976, when work started on this question, there were only 14 Ilparakuyo boys attending the Mindu Tulieni Primary School and there were no girls at all. By the end of the Project in February 1979, there were 32 Ilparakuyo boys and 13 girls attending the Primary School. Efforts are also being made to design a school livestock project which will be more relevant to the pastoralists and one of the Ilparakuyo Primary School leavers has been sent for further studies at a Teacher Training College.

The Project was also invited to help conduct the National Livestock Census Lugoba Ward in 1978. This was opportune since the pastoralists had themselves been asking for an accurate count of their cattle. Previously it had been alleged that the Ilparakuyo would not allow their cattle to be counted but this allegation proved to be unfounded since the Ilparakuyo themselves actively helped the researchers to do the counting. In fact it would have been an impossible task without their full cooperation since data was needed on the breakdown of the herds into different categories of animals and only the pastoralists were in a position to tell the researchers which cattle had been weaned, which were still heifers and the number of cows in milk. Each homestead was very interested to know how many cattle it had since it was appreciated that the area of land to be set aside for the village would have to be related to the number of cattle.

Another area which needed detailed statistical analysis was the marketing of cattle and here the Project researchers were able to establish that in 1978 there had been an effective destocking of 18.71% in Lugoba Ward through the marketing of cattle alone in only 9 months of the year for which records were available. This was well above the Party call for a 10% annual destocking and this supports the pastoralists' argument that there is no need for more destocking. It has always been argued by Regional and District leaders that before the pastoralists can develop they must first destock, an argument which is naturally not appreciated by the pastoralists.

Although a participatory research approach has been quite effective in mobilizing the pastoralists to actively involve themselves in planning their own development, there have been some doubts as to the extent to which the Project has been able to promote self-reliant socialist development. For instance, one of the major obstacles confronting the settlement of the pastoralists in villages is the presence of tse-tse flies in the areas set aside for them. The pastoralists have made arrangements to contribute money from cattle auctions to enable bush-clearing work to be done and for their part have shown that they are prepared to be self-reliant as far as is possible. However, the costs of providing adequate infrastructural services to enable the pastoralists to start practising improved animal husbandry are beyond their means. The government is prepared to meet some of the costs involved but even this is only small part of the total costs of the proposed development project. As a result efforts have been made to apply for the necessary funds from Finland and negotiations are currently underway.

This has led some of the researchers to question whether this dependence on foreign aid is in the interests of self-reliant socialist development. It has been argued that this could be a way of further entrenching neocolonialist exploitation. This is a thorny issue and opinion is divided on it. In general this criticism is based on a radical structuralist understanding of 'underdevelopment' as has been explained in Discussion Paper 1. This radical structuralist viewpoint permeated may earlier theoretical writings on the Project but I have since made efforts to develop a historical materialist conception of development. As was explained in Discussion Paper 1, a precondition for socialist development according to historical materialism is that the proletariat must have control of state power. The fact that this is not the case in Tanzania means that it is not particularly relevant to speak about this kind of development in Tanzania at present. Instead recognition must be given to the concrete reality of the economic base in the country, which is characterized by the very low level of development of the productive forces in the rural sector and the extraction of absolute surplus value as the basis of primitive accumulation. Under these circumstances capital investment in the form of grants for specific projects from countries like Finland, which have agreed to write off previous debts and interest charges on loans, must be welcomed since local capital formation is inadequate to generate the investment capital needed to develop our productive forces. However, careful attention must be paid to the implementation of such projects and this can only be ensured when the people for whom the projects are intended are actively involved in planning these project. In the case of the Mindu Tulieni development plan, the Project feels that these measures have been taken as far as is possible.

From this brief review it will be seen that the participatory research approach used on the Project was basically in line with Policy Oriented Action Research. However, in the course of the research the objective conditions of the villagers became clearer to both the researchers and the villagers, whose theoretical understanding of their oppression often surprised the researchers. Eloquent explanations were given by some pastoralists about the differences between the services provided to the State Ranches and those provided to the pastoralist peasants. These explanations demonstrated a keen materialist conceptualization of state capitalist accumulation on the basis of the peasantry. It is our expectation that as the contradiction between the productive forces and social relations of production intensifies, the conditions for socialist development will begin to materialize, and this in itself will provide the conditions for the development of Participatory Research as described in Dicussion Paper 4.

Case Study 7

On Literacy Content[1]

Ngugi wa Mirii

In this paper the word literacy means three different but interrelated concepts: literacy as acquisition of skills in reading and writing i.e., coding and decoding information; literacy as part of man's communicative skills in the production of wealth i.e. the use of the language codes in the struggles of man against nature and in society; and lastly, literacy content as part of education to mould a certain consciousness about man's struggles against nature and in society.

Educational content, be it in formal or in organized non-formal educational programmes, necessarily reflects the ideas of the ruling class. This means that the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same its ruling intellectual force.

Since, as Martin Carnoy has argued in his book *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, schools are the main means of transferring culture and values and of channeling children into various social roles, it means in practice that such schools transfer the culture and values of the ruling class.[2] In other words, schools help maintain the social order desired by the ruling class. The common school for instance is the institution that developed within capitalistic economic and social structures to prepare individuals to assume various servicing roles in those structures. Those who, on the whole, readily exhibit qualities considered most desirable by the capitalist economy and society—verbal ability, *mechanical* awareness of *mechanical* time, docility, and the internalized responsiveness to material rewards as opposed to the all-round development of the individual—are deemed to perform best in such schools. On the whole, schools reward best those who in capitalist societies exhibit qualities and values most desirable from the standpoint of capitalistic economic structures. The schools' curriculum reflects the prevailing mode of production and is structured to fit its needs.

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Workshop on National Languages and Literacy in Kenya, organized by the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Nairobi, 24th March, 1979.

[2] Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, New York, 1974, P. 8.

It is therefore not possible to discuss any educational content without seeing it in the context of the socio-economic structure which gives rise to it and which in turn it reflects. This is particularly true in the field of Adult Literacy. Literacy curriculum as part of organized formal educational programmes arises from the prevailing mode of production and reflects the same.

In discussing the relevant literacy content we must therefore take into consideration the social relations created in the production of material wealth. Under capitalism this is of course the division of labour in production or the division of people in social classes with a dominant class controlling the means of production and the dominated class selling its labour.

The capitalist mode of production also exists on the basis of the division of mental and manual labour, and thus, results in the class that controls mental labour exploiting the manual labour of the other class. The manual labour of the dominated class is exploited through suppression of its mental labour by the dominating class. Let us expand this further. When a class is not allowed to exercise its ideas (minds) at any level-economic, political, social, administrative, etc—its mental labour is suppressed. Their minds are suppressed in an attempt to keep them in a state in which their manual labour can be continually exploited without their consent.

The suppression of mind of the dominated class can be through the denial of literacy skills. This has in fact been the case in capitalist countries and those countries dominated by imperialism. It is not accidental that illiteracy has been highest among the working class in Europe, America and Japan and among peasantry and the working class in the Third World. In talking about literacy skills or so called 'adult' literacy we are in fact talking about education of the peasantry and the working class. But suppression of the same mental labour of the dominated class can take the form of provision of literacy skills, through a content detrimental to their interests as a class or to their total development. Hence, provision of literacy or not, the content of literacy programmes and even the methods are not void of the class struggle. As noted by the participants of the International Symposium for Literacy which met in Persepolis, Iran, from 3rd to 8th September 1975, literacy is first and foremost a political matter, whether one is talking about its availability, its content, or its methods.[3]

In this paper our concern is with the question of relevant literacy content in Kenya—that is the message or the knowledge which is imparted in the process of teaching and learning literacy skills among adults in Kenya. But since, as we have observed above, illiteracy affects mostly the peasantry and the working class, we shall in effect be discussing the educational content offered to peasants and workers in Kenya.

Kenya's mode of production is capitalism, but it is a capitalism which is an extension of Euro-American imperialism. This has given rise to the normal divisions of labour under capitalism i.e. the division of society into two categories of the *exploiters* and the *exploited* and the division of physical and mental labour with the dominating class of exploiters suppressing the minds of the dominated class of the exploited to facilitate the continued expropriation of the product of their labour. The category of the exploiters consists of the following classes: international bourgeoisie (foreign heads and owners of foreign companies e.g. Firestone, General Motors, B.A.T., Bata, Metal Box; foreign experts etc); the comprador bourgeoisie (Kenyan Directors of foreign companies, Kenyan shareholders in such companies, in a word Kenyan direct guardians, and service men for foreign nations and their interests); the national bourgeoisie (Kenyan owners of Kenyan industries based on Kenyan capital); and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie (traders, University lecturers, etc.). These classes reside in towns and are not affected by lack of literacy skills. They have them or else they are able to buy them. The category of the exploited consists of the peasants and workers with the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen proletariat. Of these classes that constitute the category of exploited, the peasantry is the largest class and resides in the rural area. This category is the one affected by lack of literacy skills. It is clear from this brief analysis that the problems of illiteracy are mostly in rural areas.

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[3] Persepolis Report : International Symposium for Literacy, Iran, 3-8 September, 1975.

What are the historical roots of the present position as sketched above? In other words, how has it come about that illiteracy is found mainly in the rural areas among the peasantry? The pre-colonial Kenyan economy was broadly communal with emerging feudalism in some areas. For example, the *mbari*[1] unit was an emerging feudal system and the various Kenyan peoples had developed forms of education and patterns of communication appropriate to that level of the struggles against both nature and man. Pre-colonial Kenya had its own forms of communication such as songs, dances, poems, and stories for different age groups and seasons. People communicated verbally and visually through the form of colours and even body marks. These highly developed forms of communication were accessible to everybody, thus reflecting the communal organization and control of the production of their wealth. They had also developed forms of writing; for example, among the Aagikuyu, the Gicandi artists had developed a form of writing very close to Egyptian hierographics with which they recorded their poems. Also, among the Swahili people, the Arabic script had been in use for generations. However, given the class nature of pre-colonial Kenyan societies and the level of development of their productive forces, such formal literacy skills were confined to small groups of people. In other words, the low level of development of the productive forces under both the communal and feudal systems had not allowed for widespread use of formal skills in literacy.

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[1] *Mbari* means clan in English.

With the coming of British imperialism in Kenya and the consequent introduction of the capitalistic mode of production, there arose the need for slightly wider provision of formal literacy skills to facilitate the passing on of orders in the exploitation of Kenyan labour by British capital. For instance, during the process of colonization the colonists introduced the pass or Kipande system. Invariably one needed formal literacy skills to read this. The missionaries needed catechists to spread the gospel of docility. Literacy skills were required to best carry out the orders of the colonial masters. This was true of milk clerks, cooks, waiters, court clerks, prison warders, tax collectors and other functionaries of the colonial system.

There were two processes in the area of communication. First the colonists suppressed the pre-colonial forms of communication and literacy skills which had been developed by the Kenyan peoples. Secondly, they made sure that the new formal literacy skills they introduced were limited to only those sections of Kenyan people whose services as middle men were needed. John Anderson in his book *The Struggle for School*, has pointed out that the colonists were particularly interested in possibilities for training a better skilled labour force, and inculcating in the indigenous population a proper respect for the European imperialist interpretation of law and order.[5] By suppressing the pre-colonial forms of communication and by limiting literacy skills to only a few, the colonists were suppressing the minds of the peasantry and the emerging working class with a view to their continued exploitation and oppression.

Kenyans were not slow in learning the secrets of the colonists' material success—theft, plunder, murder and brutal suppression of the Kenyan mind. They revolted in opposition to the oppression. Mau Mau was the highest expression of this struggle. At every stage of the struggle from Koitalel to Kimathi Kenyans were trying to regain control of both their physical and mental labour as well as their national natural resources to educate the people. They composed revolutionary songs and dances, for instance Muthirigu. They also developed a new content to the one taught in Karing'a Schools. There was also a publication called the Mau Mau High Command Newspaper which had an anti-imperialist content. In addition, pamphlets were distributed to inform the people about the struggle. Also, Kimathi, the leader of the Mau Mau struggle, organized a theatre movement called Gicamuat Karunaini in Nyeri.

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[5] John Anderson, *The Struggle for School*, London, 1970.

We can therefore conclude that illiteracy is a direct product of imperialism in its colonial stage and the struggle for literacy in the past always took the correct form of the struggle *against imperialism*. Today the struggle for adequate provision of literacy, the struggle for relevant content, and the struggle for correct methods and approach, can only be meaningful in the context of the continuing anti-imperialist struggles of the Kenyan people.

Today, Kenya is a neo-colony. This means that the Kenyan economy continues to be exploited by the international bourgeoisie through the more subtle methods of an alliance with a comprador bourgeoisie; the exploitation of the labour of the peasantry and the working class by these forces continues. Therefore, the same imperialist need for the suppression of the mind of the peasant and worker population continues today in two forms.

First is the continued denial of literacy and communicative skills to peasant and workers albeit under different forms and guises. Today, after sixteen whole years of independence, over 80% of the adult population cannot read and write. The children of the same percentage of the population (meaning the peasants and workers) face a similar fate. For instance, although education is supposed to be free from standard one to standard six, the possible positive effects of this are negated by the policy governing pre-school education which is increasingly becoming the ladder to success in the primary section. Gakuru[8] has found that pre-school attendance is an important determinant in selecting primary school entrants. Primary school headmasters give priority to children with nursery school experience. In fact some primary school headmasters select children on the basis of the type of pre-school attended. The children of workers and peasants are virtually excluded from this pre-primary education which has become very highly commercialized and a source of quick income for nursery school barons. The *Daily Nation* columnist Miriam Kihiga recently wrote of her experiences in finding a nursery school for her child.[7] At the first nursery school she enquired she was told flatly that the fee would be 300/- a month per child. At another she was asked whether she could afford 500/- monthly fee per child. Elsewhere the headmistress offered to give her a 50/- discount on the first down payment, which came to well over 800/-. There are other nursery schools whose fees are as high as 1,000/- and above a month. So even if primary education was free, the roots of that education is surely beyond the reach of the workers and the peasants, since they cannot afford such fees. Some of the school age children of the peasants and workers go to primary schools and subsequently drop out because of building funds, school uniforms, watchmen fee and fee for school activities.[8] All these children plus C.P.E drop outs (who relapse into illiteracy after some time) will add to adults who cannot read and write.

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[8] O.N. Gakuru, Pre-Primary Education and Access to Educational Opportunities in Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, WP No. 321, June 1977.

The irony is that the parents of these children are those of the labouring forces which produce wealth in farms and industries which goes to finance literacy among comprador bourgeoisie and their foreign allies.

Secondly, where there is provision for literacy programmes, the literacy content leads to the same as non-provision if not slightly worse i.e. the suppression of the mental labour or the minds of the peasants and the workers. The present literacy content is irrelevant to the needs of the rural poor since it is based on the assumption that the poor are to blame for their poverty. Thus, the present literacy content tends to oppress the peasants and workers.

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[7] Daily Nation, July 12th, 1978, p. 13.

[8] I am aware that since this paper was written building funds have been abolished. This is likely to make matters worse for schools which cater for the rural poor. Since the needs for the expanded building programme will now be met through harambee financial efforts, schools without rich parents will not expand; It is virtually impossible for all schools to attract the same amount of harambee money. Therefore, we are bound to see even greater differentiation in facilities among different categories of schools in different provinces.

How irrelevant and oppressive is the present literacy content?

Most of the Kenya literacy programmes are run by foreign agencies and church based organizations with foreign funding, although they try to link their activities with the Ministry of Housing and Social Services, Division of Adult Education. We can break the interest groups into the following:

1. The Division of Adult Education, Ministry of Housing and Social Services. It is supposed to run the national literacy programme but it has had very little money with which to organize literacy classes and produce materials. As a result, it uses discarded children's primary school books like the *Highway Arithmetics* by E. Carey Francis and Dorothy Kirk, the *New Oxford English Courses.* It also uses current primary school texts like *Kenya Primary Mathematics* prepared by Kenya Institute of Education (K.I.E.) or *Tuthome, Kikuyu Book I,* by Fred K. Kago, published by Longman group of publishers. Apart from the fact that some of these books are out of date even for children, the content in all of them was prepared with children in mind. This is clear in the type of visual illustrations and examples in the books. In fact, I shall not dwell on the content in the above books because the material was obviously not aimed at adults. These are probably being used because of lack of adequate alternatives. In addition to the above materials, the Division of Adult Education has produced a few follow-up reading texts for new literates, for instance, *Ukulima wa Pamba, Kilimo ni Mali, Ukulima wa Pyrethrum* (Gikuyu), *Uchumi wa Ng'ombe,* etc. Otherwise, the Division tends to lend its name and blessings to other organizations and agencies with interests in adult literacy programmes. The materials produced by these institutions, which are mostly foreign agencies, tends to bear the name of the Division of Adult Education to give them some kind of national legitimacy.

2. Church based organizations. Most churches, e.g. the American Baptist Church, Salvation Army, Methodist Church, etc., fund and operate literacy programmes for their followers. The reading materials developed by these churches are mainly religious, the two most important church-based organizations being the Catholic Secretariat and the National Christian Council of Kenya (N.C.C.K.). The Catholic Secretariat runs literacy programmes in the dioceses of Nairobi, Nakuru, Eldoret, Kitui and Ngong'. On the whole they have not produced primers but they have developed pictorial material inspired by Freire's psycho-social approach, which are used in their literacy programmes. The personnel actually running the Catholic Secretariat Community Development Office which organizes literacy programmes are foreigners, e.g. the Maryknoll Sisters from America.

The N.C.C.K., which groups together a number of non-Catholic Churches, has a department called Adult Basic Education (A.B.E.). Although this department is supposed to produce literacy materials, they have for the most part lent their name to works produced by foreign based organizations like Intermedia (a group of American Churches), Afrolit (a Literacy Promotion Agency in Africa financed by American churches and other foreign bodies). The current Executive Secretary General of Afrolit in Nairobi, who is an American national, is the N.C.C.K.'s Adult Basic Education consultant.

3. Foreign Agencies. Most foreign agencies tend to work through church organizations or the Ministry of Social Services. However, much of the literacy materials currently in use have been written by them or produced under their strong guidance and patronage. In addition to Afrolit and Intermedia, the two most significant organizations are the United Nations Development Programme (U.N.D.P.) which ran the Kenya Functional Literacy Programme and the Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.) which has been running the programme for Better Family Living.

The U.N.D.P.'s Kenya Functional Literacy Programme produced books like: *Hesabu—Maongezi kwa Mwalimu*, *Kukuza mboga*, *Udongo*, *Matumizi ya vifaa kamili*, *Mpango wa Afya*, *Jamii katika hali jema* and many others. All of these were published by Foundation Books. Although this particular programme seems to be fading away, some of its materials are still being used.

The F.A.O.'s Programme for Better Family Living undertook an experimental Integrated Functional Educational Programme.[9] Under this programme, a lot of literature, mainly in Kikamba and Kiswahili, was produced. Some of the titles are *Nuru ua Nyumbani*, *Nguma ya Musyi Book One*, *Some Kikamba*, *Imanyisyei Kiswahili*, *Nguma ua Musyi Book 2*, *Imanyisyei Kusoma*, *Nuru ya Kusoma na Kutunza Jamaa*, and *Kiswahili Kitabu cha 1*.

The aims of these various interest groups and their approach to literacy are reflected in the current literacy content produced under their tutelage. The main themes are inspited by a bourgeois ideology and set a bourgeois style of life as the universal norm to be aspired to by Kenyan peasants and workers. Their approach seems to imply that if the peasants and workers (or would be literates) would only shed their ignorance about this good life, they would surely attain it.

The following themes will be found in virtually all the primers and follow-up materials currently in circulation.

A. Family Planning

In most primers, you will see a woman getting advice from a doctor on how to use pills or how to space children. In others, you see a peasant woman in the midst of a crowd of starving children with torn clothes. The woman who is equally poorly dressed is wondering what to do with this crowd of children. This picture is often contrasted with that of a healthy looking mother with one or two well dressed and well fed children. The impression is deliberately given that having many children is the cause of the poverty of peasants and workers. If only Kenyan peasants would have the good sense to limit the number of children they have to one or two, they would attain the kingdom of the rich. In other words, it is their own fault that they are poor. Thus, the whole question of exploitation of peasants and workers is deliberately left out. This is in complete ideological conformity with the position of family planning organizations, often funded and run by imperialist countries, whose target group is the urban and rural poor. The population crisis is often a cover-up for the crisis of imperialism and the bourgeois organization of wealth. It is a cover-up for the real causes of poverty which is exploitation.

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[9] This same programme is now operating under a new name—Rural Services Coordinating and Training Unit (R.S.C.T.U.)

B. *Better Farming Methods*

Most primers carry the message of better farming methods. In fact, a universally found picture is that of a well dressed farmer with grade cows whose udders are bursting with milk. This is contrasted with another picture of a peasant with too many 'native' cows who are all scraggy and near death. The assumption here is that the illiterate peasants are poor because they do not know modern methods of farming. This once again ignores the real problem of the peasantry which is lack of land and the exploitation of the rural areas by the towns. The content on farming also ignores the accumulated knowledge of peasant farming practices which are equally advanced and which are often better suited to their environment which they know best. The same primers tend to recommend farming equipment and other production materials such as fertilizers which are not only expensive but also only obtainable from foreign firms. Again, the ideological position articulated in such a literacy primer is in conformity with the economic needs of foreign firms; the so called modern methods of farming depend on foreign technology.

C. *Nutrition and Health*

The need to eat nutritious food and the means to achieve health and strength is also emphasised a great deal in many primers. There are often pictures of nutritious foods like fish, fillet steak, bread with butter and jam, vegetables, bottled milk, eggs and various kinds of fruits. Once again the impression is given that the rural and urban poor do not eat well because of their ignorance. Yet, the problem of the rural and urban poor is *not* the how but whether they will have any food at all. The fact is that peasants of all nationalities have developed a body of knowledge about nutritious foods. In fact, before imperialism enslaved Kenyan nationalities, Kenyan people used to eat very balanced diets evolved over a long period of time. For instance, the Luo nationality used many different types of cooking pots for the different types of dishes they used to cook. The problem today is whether a Luo peasant can even afford a single dish.

The same applies to questions of health. Once again we often see in the primers a picture of a baby suffering from malnutrition contrasted with another who is healthy looking. We are given the impression that the poor child is in that condition because of the parents' ignorance about good foods, hospitals and doctors. This is again a cover-up for the real causes of ill-health and malnutrition among the rural and urban poor. Thus, once the ideological position articulated in the primer is that of the exploiting classes then the poor are to blame for the conditions in which they live.

D. Religion

The church oriented literacy programmes are even worse in that they articulate an ideological position which explains poverty in terms of god, sin and salvation. The central message is that Jesus is the Saviour, believe in him and you will be blessed with plenty. If belief in the bible does not remove the oppressor, how then are the basic needs, food, clothing and shelter for the rural and urban poor going to be met? Once again the literacy programme is used to mystify the real causes of poverty.

It is clear from our discussion of the current literacy content that it is irrelevant to the needs of peasants and workers because it sets out to mask their real problems. These literacy programmes articulate a world view which is in conformity with the bourgeois world outlook and which merely serves the interests of imperialism. It is clear then why so many foreign agencies are interested in literacy programmes. We have shown that the content of such programmes is usually designed by foreign consultants in their offices in Nairobi or New York. Often these experts do not have the slightest knowledge of the culture of the various nationalities for whom they are writing these primers. Also it is clear from the content of these primers that the authors are not simply interested in literacy as a skill to code and decode information; there is a strong ideological bias or orientation which meets the needs of imperialism and its allies. As we said at the beginning of this paper, literacy is knowledge of symbols representing thought and thus part of the wider communication between human beings in the labour process. It reflects the ideology of the educational system of a given country at a given time in history. In Kenya today, both illiteracy and literacy serve the same ends: to blunt the consciousness of the workers and peasants about the nature of imperialism and its class allies. Illiteracy achieves this by denying peasants and workers coded information and literacy does the same by giving them an ideological content irrelevant to their struggles for food, shelter and clothing.

The existing literacy materials are irrelevant to the present struggles of workers and peasants. Their purpose is in fact to mystify the social reality of the peasants and workers. The high rate of drop-outs from most literacy programmes should be a lesson: a literacy programme can only be successful if it strives for a content relevant to the real needs of peasants' and workers' struggles. This is the major reason why literacy programmes have not been a success in Third World countries under imperialism.

Towards a Relevant Content

In Kenya we must first oppose the current dependency on foreign experts and foreign agencies. The existing pattern is to invite 'instant' experts from imperialist countries (usually the United States, West Germany, Britain or UNESCO experts from these same countries) to write the literacy primers. They cite their many years of experience in the Third World countries. Some claim ten years, others thirty years and the like. What they do not tell us is the nature of their achievement in the countries of their sojourn. Often these experts have no understanding of the cultural background of the people for whom they are writing the primers. Furthermore, in most cases they do not even know the languages of the people. The argument that we need these consultants because funds come from foreign donors is immaterial. These donor agencies represent the interests of their respective member governments. Ninety per cent of this money returns to the respective countries in one form or another, one of which is the engagement of these instant experts. It is time we realized that foreign agencies and foreign experts cannot draw up literacy programmes relevant to the national interests of Kenya.

Only patriotic Kenyans can draw up a programme which is relevant to the needs and struggles of Kenyans. These Kenyans can draw up a relevant and successful literacy programme if they involve the classes most affected by illiteracy in the planning and running of such programmes. By so doing, the peasants and the workers will identify with the programme and claim responsibility for its development and expansion. Through this participation, they will make their concerns, needs and aspirations the foundation stone of the programme; it will present a world view which correctly reflects their material reality. If Kenyans who are organizing these programmes are to meet these ideals, they must themselves be completely steeped in the cultures carried by the languages of the various nationalities in Kenya and particularly the language and culture of the nationality of the community in which they are working. Such Kenyans must realize that relevant content in any educational system is that which reflects man's everyday material reality.

I shall now draw upon the experiences of the peoples' literacy project at Kamirithu Community Educational and Cultural Centre to illustrate certain aspects of my thesis.

Kamirithu Literacy Project: Background

Kamirithu is one of the five sub-locations of Limuru Division in Kiambu District. It is about 32 kilometres from Nairobi on the Nakuru-Naivasha road. According to the 1969 Kenya population census, there were 7,879 people in Kamirithu. The current population is estimated to be 10,660 with a growth rate of 1.48% per year.

The majority of the residents are originally from Limuru but there have been waves of immigrants from Nyeri, Murang'a, Kirinyaga, Embu and other areas of Kenya, primarily Rift Valley and Nyanza, seeking work in industries and agricultural plantations.

The industrial and commercial sectors of the Limuru economy are not large. The dominant industry is shoe making which is wholly controlled by the Bata Shoe Company. The company is foreign owned with some Kenyan share holders on the Board of Directors. It has existed since 1940 and employs about 2,000 workers. A recent addition to foreign owned industrial enterprises in Limuru is a pipe making company called Nile Investment which employs about 230 workers. There is also the timber industry which is mostly foreign owned and which employs varying numbers of workers ranging from about five workers in small timber yards to about 700 in big timber yards. There are also two foreign banks, a chemical firm, a salt processing plant, a British American Tobacco owned chicken processing plant and various commercial shops for distributing clothes, foods and other commodities. These employ quite a few people. Uplands Bacon factory, which is also foreign owned, is an old factory which employs people and also buys pigs from Kenyan farmers. So there is a sizeable industrial working class in Limuru employed in the foreign owned industrial sector and the Kenyan owned commercial distributive sector.

The agricultural sector of the Limuru economy also absorbs a sizeable rural working class. These are mostly employed on the large tea and coffee plantations located in the former white highlands owned by foreign firms like Brooke Bond and by a few Kenyan landlords. Peasant holdings ranging from half an acre to ten acres grow anything from cash crops like pyrethrum to food crops like maize, beans, potatoes, fruits, vegetables etc., and also provide employment.

Otherwise, unemployment and landlessness is the lot of the majority of Limuru people including Kamirithu residents.

Land demarcation was completed in 1958. At that time the colonial administration said that peasants with less than four acres of land could not build houses on that land; they were told to contribute a plot of 100 feet by 100 feet to a common site. These sites form the present Limuru Division villages, a continuation of the emergency villages. The majority of peasants have less than four acres of land; rich peasants with between four and ten acres of land were and still are very few. The landless peasants go on reproducing themselves through birth, immigration, as stated above, and through sale of peasant land to richer people.

Buying and selling of land in Limuru Division is a common phenomenon. It is controlled by the Land Board which usually meets once a fortnight on Fridays. The role of the Land Board is to examine the ownership and to decide whether the land should be sold or whether it should be charged against a bank loan as security. Normally no cases of sale are refused. A number of landholdings belonging to peasants have ended up being sold by banks as a result of the inability to repay loans. The people in Limuru are very poor because of low salaries, landlessness, unemployment, and the villages are very crowded. At Kamirithu village, there are an average of six people for every 1/4 acre. The majority of the landless families have built their houses on public paths which divide the individual 100 feet by 100 feet plots. These families with houses on foot paths are essentially squatter communities in Kamirithu village; each is made up of about 15 families and each family has six members. Thus, we have more than 2,000 people who are poverty ridden in Kamirithu. They provide a reservoir of labour for landlords especially during harvest season for coffee.

The living conditions at Kamirithu are appalling. For instance, there is one squatter community consisting of ten families with a total population of 66 people living in the most dehumanizing conditions on a 3/4 acre piece of land. There are no sanitation facilities, no street lighting and no medical facilities in this village of more than ten thousand people. Kamirithu is not an exception. It is typical of Limuru as a whole.

When Kamirithu village was extended from the old emergency village in the late fifties, the only social need forseen by the colonial authorities was that of a recreation centre where residents of the village could meet for social activities. A four acre plot was set aside for this and a building was put up by the village people. It became a youth centre where young men and women met to dance. After independence, carpentry classes were started under the management of Limuru Area Council. When these councils were abolished around 1973, the carpentry classes ceased. It was after this that the villagers came together to find ways of rescuing the centre and giving it new life. After several meetings, a management committee was chosen. This committee changed the name of the place from the Youth

Centre to Kamirithu Community Educational and Cultural Centre. The Committee also appointed several sub-committees to deal with various projects for the centre. These committees included a cultural committee charged with the responsibility of organizing peoples' culture at the Centre and an Education Committee to organize community education.

I was elected chairman of the Education Committee which otherwise consisted of peasants and workers from Kamirithu. After several meetings, we decided to start with literacy as a necessary part of community education.

Given a community such as Kamirithu, how do we begin to define its needs? As we have seen above, a great deal of literature on literacy tends to be written by outsiders in two senses: they are often complete outsiders to the community and they also come from another class. These outsiders assume and define the community's needs as seen from the needs of another class, not as seen by the members of the community.

The Education Sub-committee met weekly to plan the Kamirithu Literacy Project. After a number of meetings, it was agreed that the Kamirithu community's needs and problems, their everyday life, in a phrase their experience of history, would be the best literacy content. After discussions and review meetings of the problems affecting peasants and workers at Kamirithu, the following were identified as major community issues: lack of land, unemployment, low wages and inhuman working conditions in factories, lack of water, lack of firewood, lack of sufficient food for the family, lack of good housing, lack of hospital and health facilities in the village, poor transport and means of communication, problems of marketing agricultural produce, inflation, and lack of meaningful cultural alternatives. During these review meetings, other questions arose: Why is there poverty? What are the causes of poverty? Why is it that there are some people who eat, drink, clothe and shelter well while others go without food, without clothes, without houses? What can we do about these problems? How do we eradicate poverty and the roots of that poverty? All of these problems were discussed in terms of the three historical stages of the people of Kamirithu: pre-colonial, colonial and post indpendence. During the discussions we reviewed the role of peasants and workers throughout the three historical phases.

The Education Committee spent four months discussing the Kamirithu community problems. We also discussed the best ways of presenting these problems to other members of the Kamirithu community. We decided to code them in the form of posters, songs, stories and role plays. These formed the bases of Kamirithu literacy content.

I would like to emphasize that some members of this committee could not read or write. In other words, literacy is not a prerequisite to designing the appropriate teaching content of a literacy programme. The participatory method used in the development of these materials was later transferred to the classroom; group discussions, group criticism and self criticism was the teaching and learning method. Often the teacher and the learner changed roles, so that the teacher became the learner. In other words, the teacher was not necessarily an authority on content, he was only a technician in literacy symbols. Thus, both in the development of teaching material and in the process of learning, the Kamirithu project rejected the teacher dependency approach which assumes that peasants and workers lack know-how in matters that deeply affect their lives. The Kamirithu project rejected the often assumed ignorance of workers and peasants and instead tried to build on the existing knowledge and the accumulated experience of peasants and workers.

This whole approach to literacy, i.e. discussions and collective involvement, presupposes the use of a language understood by all. Language is the most important instrument of human intercourse in labour. Language carries the accumulated experience of a people over the years. We cannot utilize this fund of knowledge and experience carried by that language unless we teach that language. At Kamirithu we took the view that the language spoken by peasants and workers was primary and must be the basis of any successful literacy and community development programme. To use a language other than the one spoken by the people is to exclude such a people from participation in their own development. So at Kamirithu we used one of the many Kenyan national languages (i.e. the languages of the many Kenyan nationalities) Kikuyu.

The process of surveying the community problems and the development of materials took six months from January to June, 1976. After this, four literacy classes were opened in July: one literacy class for men and three classes for women. During the recruitment of literacy participants, more than 100 illiterate peasants and workers wanted to join the programme but we did not have enough desks and room for all of them. In addition, we experienced difficulties in recruiting an adequate number of literacy teachers with the correct orientation towards the discussion method of teaching literacy. In fact, for the few that we eventually got, I had to hold a two week workshop on the relevant approach to literacy. That is why the first in-take was 55 participants.

After six months of very enjoyable discussions 45 participants were able to read and write. In fact it was not really after six months but after 224 hours spread over six months. Another 224 hours again spread over the next six months saw the participants brushing up their literacy skills. In the middle of July 1977, they were writing letters to me and posting them at Limuru post office to prove to themselves that they could now communicate in the written symbols. Others were writing stories or brief sketches of their lives. On the whole, we can say that with a relevant content, adults can become literate within three months or less.

Summary of the Kamirithu Literacy Project

What can we learn from the Kamirithu experience? I had no control groups to measure the results of the programme against. However, in the face of high drop-out rates there has been considerable debate about motivation in adult literacy programmes. At Kamirithu, motivation remained high and there were virtually no drop-outs except for a few necessitated by change of place of residence. This is despite the fact that most of the participants had to give up portions of their precious work time to come to the classes on time. It is interesting to note that despite the political pressures on Kamirithu Community Educational and Cultural Centre in 1977 and 1978, as a result of the removal of the licence to perform the play Ngaahika Ndeenda and the subsequent detention of one of the authors, the literacy project continued strongly.

Why was motivation so high? First, we have already noted the participation of peasants and workers in the preparation of teaching materials and learning methods.

Second, and more importantly, the literacy programme was part of community development in education and culture. In other words, the literacy project was not isolated from other community needs. It was part of a struggle by the peasants and workers of Kamirithu to develop their village. Some of these literacy participants were involved in other cultural and educational activities at the Centre. The most important of these was the development of community theatre which resulted in the writing and production of the play, Ngaahika Ndeenda. Although the responsibility for writing the play was given to two authors, the other members of the community discussed and improved the script. They designed and constructed an open air theatre with a seating capacity of more than 2,000 people. While these other educational and cultural activities were, like the literacy project, full programmes of the Centre, they also contributed follow-up material for literacy learners.

There were no external agencies and foreign experts involved at Kamirithu despite various offers to send such experts. People at Kamirithu can identify with programmes for the Centre because they know that the results are from their own efforts.

Conclusion

There are no conclusions to this important discussion on relevant literacy content. Discussion on the nature of relevant knowledge will continue for as long as people struggle for food, clothing and shelter. These struggles of man should form the content of any educational programme including literacy. Knowledge that emerges from concrete problems is fundamental to the development of a people. In Kenya today, one of these problems is the struggle of the Kenyan people against imperialism and its allies. In other words, I am convinced that no literacy programme for rural development can be successful unless it is an integral part of an anti-imperialist struggle and part and parcel of the patriotic affirmation of national interests. I am also convinced that problems of illiteracy and literacy cannot be solved outside the solution of other contradictions in society. In Kenya total literacy cannot be attained outside the total economic and political tranformation of the society. But these are issues which go beyond the scope of this paper.

At this point in time, the Kamirithu experience is the closest to the type of literacy content emphasised in this paper. For this reason, I hope that it forms the basis for better work elsewhere in Kenya. However, more work remains to be done at Kamirithu before an adequate literacy model emerges and can be put at the disposal of the entire nation.

Appendix

List of Participants

Botswana

1. Mr. Ziki Kraai, Senior Community Development Officer, Self-Help Housing Agency, *Gaborone*.
2. Mr. Robert MacKenzie, Lecturer in Research and Evaluation, Institute of Adult Education, University College of Botswana, Private Bag 0022, *Gaborone*.
3. Mr Frank Youngman, Assistant Director, Institute of Adult Education, University College of Botswana, Private Bag 0022, *Gaborone*.
4. Mr. Dennis Lewycky, Formerly with Oodi Weavers' Project, Gaborone, Presently, Field Director CUSO, P.O. Box 1697, Dar es Salaam.

Britain

5. Ms Maura Rafferty, Tutor/Community Worker, University of London, Goldsmith's College, School of Adult and Social Studies, 38 Lewisham Way, *London* S.E. 14.

Canada

6. Ms. Linda Harasim, Participatory Research Project, International Council for Adult Education, 29 Prince Arthur Avenue, *Toronto* M5R 1B2.
7. Mr. Ainsley Vaughan, Participatory Research Project, International Council for Adult Education, 29 Prince Arthur Avenue, *Toronto* M5R 1B2.

Federal Republic of Germany

8. Mr. Ulrich Kill, Formerly Research Officer with the Christian Council of Tanzania, Presently, Tutor, Ecumenical Workshop, Praunheimer, Landstrasse 206, 6000 *Frankfurt*.

Ghana

9. Dr. K.J. Ansere, Resident Tutor, Institute of Adult Education, P.O. Box 31, *Legon*.

India

10. Dr. Rajesh Tandon, Coordinator, Asian Participatory Research Project and Fellow, Public Enterprises Centre for Continuing Education, C-6/5, Safdarjang Development Area, *New Delhi*-110016.

Kenya

11. Mr. Ngugi wa Mirii, Vice Chairman, Kenya Adult Education Association, P.O. Box 72291, *Nairobi*.
12. Mrs. D. Ongewe, Assistant Secretary, Board of Adult Education, Department of Adult Education, P.O. Box 42264, *Nairobi*.
13. Mr. Edward Ulzen, Executive Secretary African Adult Education Association, P.O. Box 30746, *Nairobi*.

Nigeria

14. Mrs. Martha George, Education Officer, St. Joseph's Teacher Training College, Surulere, P.O. Box 262, *Lagos*.

Sudan

15. Mrs. Judy El-Bushra, Research and Publications Officer, Development Studies & Research Centre, University of Khartoum *Khartoum*.

Tanzania

16. Mr. A.O. Anacleti, Director of Research & Planning, Ministry of National Culture & Youth, P.O. Box 4284, Dar es Salaam.
17. Mr. Kemal Mustafa, Cultural Officer (Research) Department of Research & Planning, Ministry of National Culture & Youth, P.O. Box 4284, *Dar es Salaam*.
18. Ms. Ulla Vuorela, Research Officer, Department of Research & Planning, Ministry of National Culture & Youth, P.O. Box 4284, *Dar es Salaam*.
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20. Mr. Melkiori Matwi, Cultural Officer (Research), Department of Research & Planning, Ministry of National Culture & Youth, P.O. Box 4284, *Dar es Salaam*.
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22. Mr. E.K. Mduma, Resident Tutor, Institute of Adult Education, P.O. Box 1057, *Morogoro*.
23. Mr. A.O. Wagara, Planner, Tanzania Food & Nutrition Centre, P.O. Box 977, *Dar es Salaam*.
24. Mr. R. Mshana, Research Officer, Christian Council of Tanzania, P.O. Box 2537, *Dar es Salaam*.
25. Mr. S. Maghimbi, Tutor/Researcher, Cooperative College, P.O. Box 474, *Moshi*.
26. Miss. Amandina Lihamba, Lecturer, Department of Theatre Arts, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35044, *Dar es Salaam*.
27. Dr. Leo Vanden Berg, Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35091, *Dar es Salaam*.
28. Dr. Issa Musoke, Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35043, *Dar es Salaam*.
29. Ms Deborah Bryceson, Assistant Lecturer, BRALUP, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35064, *Dar es Salaam*.
30. Prof. Marjorie Mbilinyi, Associate Professor, Department of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35048, *Dar es Salaam*.
31. Prof. Yusuf Kassam, Coordinator of the African Participatory Project and Associate Professor, Department of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 34048, *Dar es Salaam*.

This book is a compilation of all the theoretical papers and case studies presented at the African Regional Workshop on Participatory Research which was held in Tanzania in 1979.

Participatory Research is most commonly described as an integral activity that combines social investigation, educational work and action. Over the last seven years, Participatory Research has become the subject of vigorous and exciting debate and discussion through seminars, workshops and studies in different parts of the world. This book exemplifies the nature and level of analysis that is taking place on the concept, theory and practice of Participatory Research among persons concerned with the issues of research, adult education, popular knowledge and power.

The specific issues examined in this book, enlightened by concrete case studies of Participatory Research from Botswana, Kenya and Tanzania, include the concepts of development in the social sciences, the politics of research methodology in the context of ideological struggles, epistemology, and the question of power, social class and historical materialism.

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